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TASS Reports on Resumption of Space Arms Talks

Joint Statement Circulated

LD2201185190 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Geneva January 22 TASS—The 13th round of talks on nuclear space-based weapons began here today. The Soviet Union and the United states will discuss cuts in space-based strategic weapons and anti-ballistic missile defences.

A joint statement of the Soviet and U.S. delegations was circulated here. It expressed hope that the present round would make considerable progress on matters on which the differences still exist.

Accord on Inspection Procedures

LD2201225990 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Geneva January 23 TASS—Yuriy Nazarkin, the head of the Soviet delegation to the talks on nuclear space weapons and his U.S. counterpart Richard Burt have reached an accord to hold, as a preliminary verification measure in connection with the treaty on strategic offensive weapons that is now being prepared, mutual demonstrations of procedures for inspecting warheads.

The accord was worked out in pursuance of the agreement, signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. State Secretary James Baker in Wyoming in September 1989, on arranging test verification and stability measures before the signing of the treaty on 50 per cent cuts of strategic offensive weapons.

The purpose of the demonstrations, envisaged by the agreement, is the show by each side of procedures that enable making sure that the number of combat warheads on respective missiles does not exceed the stated number.

This is the fourth test verification and stability measure agreed by the sides. Earlier the sides reached an accord about the timely notification about major manoeuvres of strategic forces, the demonstration of technologies for marking strategic offensive weapons and the joint demonstrations of heavy bombers.

FRG's Genscher Discusses Cooperation in Europe

Cited on Disarmament Process

PM1901144590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Ye. Grishin: "H.D. Genscher: 1990 Must Become Year of Disarmament"]

[Text] Bonn—The complex process of elaborating a new approach toward the development of relations with the East and toward disarmament policy and the European Community is under way in the ruling Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union [CDU-CSU]-Free Democratic Party [FDP] coalition in Bonn. FRG Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher, an eminent FDP politician, is the initiator of the renewal.

In an interview with the Deutschlandfunk and Westdeutscher Rundfunk radio stations he has expressed himself in support of revolutionary transformations in the socialist countries. M.S. Gorbachev's idea regarding the erection of an all-European home merges constructively with the Western concept of a peaceful structure in Europe, the leader of the Bonn foreign policy department noted.

To avoid distortions and breakdowns in constructing the European edifice, it is important, he said, constantly to bear in mind four elements in East-West relations. First, intensifying and expanding the processes initiated by the CSCE. The Helsinki Final Act is at the same time a basis and a guideline on the path toward the all-European home. Second, we should promote the integration of the EEC countries as an important structural part of the future peaceful structure on the continent. Here the EEC should remain open to cooperation with its neighbors in the East. Third, for East-West relations to develop stably it is necessary to seek specific results at disarmament talks. Finally, for Bonn it is particularly important to expand cooperation with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Moscow treaty and the 1989 joint Soviet-West German statement.

We are all interested in the success of the reforms in the Soviet Union since there cannot be a peaceful structure in Europe without the USSR. It is essential, the minister said, to consider the interests of the Soviet Union's security to achieve mutual understanding that the observance of these interests will be guaranteed. The FRG bears a special responsibility in this case. Soviet-West German relations also of central importance for East-West relations. That is why the FRG Government is inclined to expand these ties.

H.D. Genscher supported M.S. Gorbachev's proposal to convene in 1990 an all-European meeting of heads of state and government of the participants in the CSCE. I think, he said, that these summit forums should be held every 2 years to lend additional impetus to the all-European process. At this year's meeting it would be possible to sign a first agreement on disarmament in the sphere of conventional weapons providing for the mutual reduction of the armed forces and arms of the United States and the USSR in Central Europe. At the same time it would be possible to agree on issuing a mandate for talks on preparing a second agreement on the limitation of the conventional arms of the remaining participants, including the armies of the FRG and the GDR. Here it is particularly important to eliminate the offensive potential. This is a complex task, so we must approach its solution without delay. Another subject for the meeting could be proposals to create all-European institution, for instance, an environmental protection agency, a center for monitoring the observance of disarmament agreements, and a human rights commission.

The FRG foreign minister expressed himself against NATO plans to modernize operational-tactical missiles

and nuclear artillery. I cannot imagine, he added, that nuclear missiles targeted against the GDR, Poland, and the CSSR will be deployed on West German territory in the mid-nineties. Democratization in these countries demands a thorough revision of the West's concept in the security sphere. The year 1990 must become a year of disarmament, not only on the plan of concluding new treaties but also from the viewpoint of entering into talks on the further reduction of military confrontation in Europe.

H.D. Genscher resolutely rejected the concept of the right-wing CDU-CSU politicians providing for the creation of a peaceful European order without the participation of the United States and USSR. Any attempts to drive the United States out of Europe and NATO and the USSR out of the Warsaw Pact are dangerous because they lead to the destabilization of the situation on the continent. In his opinion, the great powers, like the military alliances, are playing an important part in the present rapprochement between East and West. It is the great powers which act as the leading force in the process of disarmament and a guarantee of stability in Europe. Of course, the alliances' functions will gradually change. They will start to fulfill political tasks, including the formation of all-European structures. That is why good partnership relations between the United States and the USSR are of great benefit to the Europeans.

H.D. Genscher's concept has to all appearances had considerable influence on the elaboration of the FDP election program in the field of security policy. As FDP spokesmen Kh.R. Gebel [name as transliterated] announced, at the Bundestag elections the liberals intend to demand a reduction in the numerical strength of the Bundeswehr from 495,000 to 350,000 men and a reduction to 12 months for army service. The Free Democrats advocate the elimination of short-range missiles and nuclear artillery and the renunciation of the implementation of the expensive plan to produce the Jaeger-90 European fighter-bomber.

The disarmament initiatives of the junior partner in the coalition have caused embarrassment in the leadership of the conservative CDU-CSU bloc. Defense Minister G. Stoltenberg (CDU) has called the FDP leaders' proposals hasty and unrealistic. FRG Government spokesman Kh. Klyayn [name as transliterated] has described them as party political propaganda on the part of the liberals. Conversely, E. Horn, Social Democratic Party of Germany expert in the field of security policy, believes that it is a case of an important shift on the part of the FDP on question of disarmament, which should be welcomed.

And so what will the decision be? A far from idle question, if you consider that the proposals of H.D. Genscher and his party are addressed directly to the FRG Government. And it will have to give a clear and specific answer to them, as required by the realities of our anxious times.

Calls for 'Stable Partnership'

LD2101221190 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna January 21 TASS—The process of democratic transformations in the Soviet Union is irreversible, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), told Austrian journalists in an interview broadcast on national television on Sunday.

Speaking of the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia, the FRG's foreign minister regarded with understanding the involvment of military units in eliminating unrest in those republics.

He said the actions of troops should be understood as an attempt to prevent civil war, and not as a step backwards to tougher ways and repression.

Touching upon topical international issues, Genscher called for the establishment of such a structure for cooperative Europe that would also meet Moscow's security interests.

The aim should be to ensure a stable partnership on the continent, which would enable Eastern Europe to go ahead with the process of transformations, he said.

As time will go by, Genscher said, the military alliances will acquire increasing political importance for disarmament. He favoured an acceleration of the disarmament process, including the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

"After political walls have collapsed, the walls of bombs, missiles and grenades should come tunbling down as well," he emphasised.

Disarmament Consultations With UK Resume 17 Jan

LD1801201890 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Another round of Soviet-British consultations on arms limitation and disarmament was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry from January 17 to 18.

From the Soviet side the consultations were conducted by Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov, from the British side by superintending under-secretary, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, John P. Goulden.

Both sides pointed to the usefulness of the dialogue, which will be continued.

Powell's Vienna Address Brings 'Disappointment'

PM2201145990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own special correspondent Captain First Rank V. Kuzar: "Seminar on Military Doctrines Held in Vienna in Atmosphere of Goodwill"]

[Text] Vienna, 18 Jan— "Very convincing." That was the succinct, soldierly answer that General O. Tauschitz, inspector general of the Austrian Army, gave me when I asked for his assessment of Soviet military doctrine as expounded at the seminar by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. However, he then added that it was convincing from both the political and military-technical aspects. As far as the specific measures cited in the Soviet military leader's speech were concerned, however, their implementation will, in his opinion, clearly have to be monitored.

The Soviet military doctrine was also highly rated by other people I spoke with from the Belgian and Swedish delegations. One can conclude from talking with them that a relaxed atmosphere of goodwill prevailed at the seminar.

Judging by some statements by seminar participants, the speech delivered by General C. Powell, head of the U.S. delegation, caused them some disappointment. His exposition of U.S. military doctrine was reminiscent more of a personal historical digression than of the U.S. leadership's systematic views on military building and its evolution. It was altogether impossible to agree with a number of the foundations of the political goals of the doctrine stated by the general—for example, with the U.S. proclaimed readiness to resort to force whenever the defense of its interests is involved, and, for instance, the way that Washington acted with regard to Panama, which was mentioned by Powell.

One is, of course, bound to note positive trends too. As was declared at last December's NATO Council session, it is the aim of the North Atlantic bloc and therefore of the United States to prevent war. Here in Vienna, General Powell stressed that the U.S role within NATO is to ensure global security, including security on the continent of Europe. The United States is planning to carry out a certain reduction in its armed forces and military budget.

Unfortunately, the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff said almost nothing about the military-technical aspect of the doctrine. Although he did stipulate, it is true, that other U.S. representatives would talk during the seminar about the structure of U.S. Armed Forces, their training, and even about how the press operates in the Army in fulfillment of its constitutional role.

Unlike his senior NATO colleague, Admiral D. Wellershoff, inspector general of the Bundeswehr, was, in my view, more specific in his exposition of FRG military doctrine. Thus, in speaking about the FRG's place in the Western alliance, the admiral stressed that war will never again be started on German territory. The inspector general also observed that the aim of NATO, including the FRG, is to ensure greater stability at the lowest possible level of military equilibrium between the two alliances.

According to Wellershoff, they have been forced in their military doctrine to take account of the "geostrategic factor." The location of the Warsaw Pact allegedly enables it to quickly transfer ground and air forces, whereas the NATO allies are separated by the Atlantic Ocean. Such a premise is patently farfetched given, on the one hand, NATO's enormous transport potential and, on the other, the fact that no one is threatening the West. The admiral's notion that the Warsaw Pact is obliged to go on making unilateral cuts in conventional arms does not hold water either.

Stability on the continent of Europe can be ensured only through joint efforts and joint cuts in military potential. That, incidentally, is the conclusion of the majority of participants in the seminar, which is continuing its work in the Austrian capital.

Kashlev on Anniversary of Vienna CSCE Forum

LD2001212390 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—One can say with confidence now that the implementation of the Vienna accords of the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is proceeding successfully, Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador at large of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told TASS on Saturday on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.

The political dialogue in Europe has intensified after the Vienna meeting and important meetings at top level were held, including meetings between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the leaders of Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Finland, and Italy. The Soviet-American Malta shipboard summit dealt to a large extent with European problems, Kashlev emphasised.

The Vienna forum—the third follow-up meeting after the 1975 Helsinki conference (the previous two were held in Belgrade and Madrid)—was difficult and prolonged, he said.

But its results surpassed all expectations—a genuine breakthrough in the military-and-political field and in the field of human rights was made. This was the result of compromises in the spirit of new thinking that became possible due to perestroyka in the Soviet Union, Kashlev observed.

The dynamic events in East European countries objectively improve prerequisites for headway towards overcoming the division of the continent. The Helsinki process is entering a new phase of the building of a common European home, he maintained.

One of the major achievemens of the Vienna forum was the start of simultaneous talks in the Austrian capital between 23 Warsaw-Treaty and NATO countries on conventional armed forces and weapons and talks betwen 35 CSCE countries on confidence-building measures. Both are held in a businesslike atmosphere, and there are chances to conclude important agreements this year, Kashlev believes.

Various concepts of a future development of Europe are put forward in foreign capitals, Gorbachev's proposal to hold a meeting of the leaders of the 35 CSCE countries this year is getting increasingly wide support.

At such a meeting it would be possible to sign agreements on cuts in the armed forces and armaments and on new confidence-building measures from the Atlantic to the Urals, and to hold an in-depth discussion on the intensification of European cooperation at the turn of the century. This year ushers in, possibly, a whole "decade of Europe" in world politics, Kashlev emphasised.

Danger of Accidental Nuclear Blasts Outlined

PM2201112390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article prepared by A. Balandin: "Impossible To Imagine: U.S. Scientists on Likelihood of Unpremeditated Nuclear Explosions"]

[Text] Citing the local television review entitled "Monitor," the West German news agency DPA recently reported statements by a number of U.S. specialists and designers in the sphere of modern weapons systems on the possibility of electronic detonators being accidentally set off by electromagnetic radiation.

According to the designer Daniel Curtis, who collaborates with the Pentagon, the electronics of the latest types of weapons can be knocked out by radiation not only from radio and television stations but also from radio sets in police cars and taxis.

Particularly "problematic," the "Monitor" report pointed out, are the electronic fuzes used in almost all modern weapons systems. They can act as antennas receiving electromagnetic radiation and passing it on into the system itself. The explosives could be detonated as a result.

P. Axelrod, a scientist from the United States, cited a number of specific facts. In 1960, for example, a nuclear missile went out of control at an air base in the U.S. state of New Jersey. The result was radioactive contamination that persists to this day. It happened, according to P. Axelrod, because of electromagnetic radiation occasioned by the operation of a nearby radio station, as well as a radio set in a police car that was driving by.

Ted Taylor, one of the creators of the atom bomb, who appeared on the same television program, added that electromagnetic radiation can cause a spontaneous nuclear explosion and detonate nuclear warheads, given a high concentration of them, such as in the FRG, for example.

A U.S. Defense Department spokesman declared in reply to a corresponding question that "this is an old story which is dredged up from time to time." At the same time he pointed to the "effectiveness of the checks" to which all weapons systems are subjected.

For his part, D. Curtis accused the Pentagon of criminal negligence and covering up the essence of the problem out of fear of losing income.

On receiving such extraordinary information, we asked Lieutenant General Sergey Zelentsov, deputy chief of a USSR Defense Ministry Main Directorate, and Academician Vitaliy Goldanskiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences N.N. Semenov Institute of Chemical Physics, to comment on it.

"It is hard to make an unequivocal assessment of just what happened in New Jersey," S. Zelentsov said, "as we do not possess detailed information on what happened. We can only make one assumption or another. As for systems to protect the electronic devices of modern types of weapons against all sorts of eventualities, they are compound systems. Individual elements of these systems undoubtedly receive electromagnetic radiation. But a special code is needed to activate them. Chaotic signals will not work. It is virtually impossible to unlock all the 'protectors' at once and activate modern weapons systems with simple electromagnetic impulses. It would take a 'range of eventualities' and breakdowns inconceivable in practice to result in such an extraordinary occurrence.

"Another aspect of the DPA report strikes me as more important," S. Zelentsov added. "This is the desire of scientists and specialists to once again draw public attention to the danger of the very existence of such weapons systems."

"In order to cause a nuclear explosion, it is necessary to ensure the necessary degree of compression of the fissionable nuclear material by means of a conventional explosion," V. Goldanskiy explained. "If, as the result of one reason or another, this compression proves insufficient, a so-called 'bang' will happen, a misfire. This can lead to scattering of fissionable radioactive material. It is possible to assume that something similar might have happened at some time in New Jersey—that is, a scattering of a charge containing plutonium and radioactive contamination.

"When creating a nuclear weapon," V. Goldanskiy said, "provision is made for systems to guard against any eventualities. This, incidentally, could be one of the reasons for the continuing tests of nuclear weapons, during which these systems aimed at protecting against unpremeditated explosions are checked.

"The fears expressed by T. Taylor evidently apply to a situation," V. Goldanskiy continued, "in which such systems might be put out of action. T. Taylor, who is widely known for his advocacy of nuclear disarmament, obviously wanted to draw additional attention to the danger of unpremeditated nuclear explosions."

TASS on Sychev's Views of Problems in CEMA

'General Dissatisfaction' Seen

LD2201131990 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—"The 45th meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) session, which has drawn to a close in Sofia, discussed unaccomplished tasks of mulilateral cooperation," CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev told TASS.

"Delegates to the session expressed general dissatisfaction with the implementation of the decisions of the 43rd and 44th meetings of the CMEA session to restrucutre the mechanism of multilateral cooperation, economic integration and CMEA activity," Sychev said.

Describing the results of the Sofia meeting, Sychev noted that the discussion demonstrated states' interest in drastically restructuring the interaction system. Participants in the meeting could familiarise themselves with partners' positions regarding directions of re-organisation and priority tasks which should be accomplished in the process. In view of this, the CMEA countries agreed to draft a new charter of the council as applied to the present and future requirements of their interaction in new national and international conditions.

Touching on differences in the CMEA member-states' approaches to the council's reform, Sychev said that these differences concerned primarily the appraisal of the depth of the necessary transformations. The majority of countries favour drastically reshaping the mechanism of CMEA activity.

Some delegates displayed more moderate approaches which called for updating the already shaped forms and methods of cooperation. Divergent points of view were expressed also during the discussion of a new settlement system.

"Questions of developing foreign economic ties are exclusively the competence of the CMEA countries themselves. At the session none of the delegations even raised the issue of withdrawal from the CMEA. Speakers at the meeting stressed the need to bring the CMEA, its principles, goals and structures into line with the new tasks amd conditions of socio-economic development."

On the direction of the CMEA's development, Sychev said that forming an integral market of the CMEA member-countries is closely linked with the restructuring of the economic mechanism of multilateral cooperation and the creation of monetary-financial and price mechanisms.

But, in the first place, there should be sound domestic markets of the means of production, consumer goods and services in the CMEA countries, Sychev noted. Conditions should be created to guarantee the free movement of commodities, technologies, services, capital and workforce between the CMEA countries.

This can be achieved only on condition of meeting demand for industrial output, food products, manufactured consumer goods, technology and information. Stable commodity and monetary ties both between the CMEA member-states and on a world scale are needed.

The solution to these problems will take a long time. However, changes under way in the CMEA member-states give ground for optimism, Sychev stressed.

Pace of Reforms Discussed

LD2201142390 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—The processes taking place in the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) call for radically changing the entire system of cooperation, revitalising CMEA activities, revising its functions and elaborating a new charter, CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev told a news conference here today. The news conference dealt with the results of the CMEA's 45th session.

The session laid the foundations for new economic relations, of which economic interests and the initiative of goods producers should become the core, Sychev said.

The formation of a joint socialist market acquires importance in this connection. It was suggested that the CMEA begin a stage-by-stage change-over to world prices from 1991 and make settlement in freely convertible currency. Almost all the participants in the CMEA's 45th session agreed with the suggestion.

At the same time it would be wrong to expect an immediate transition to the new system, speakers emphasised. A change-over to world prices and settlements in convertible currency will radically change the pattern of reciprocal deliveries and their value indices. A too speedy of a transition to the new system may upset established economic relations. It is in the common interest of CMEA countries to avoid such a development, the news conference was told.

At the same time the Soviet Union favours accelerated work to this effect, emphasised Leonid Krasnov, deputy permanent representative of the Soviet Union.

In answer to a question about the possibility of establising a "trilateral group" within the CMEA—consisting of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland—a Czechoslovak representative said that officially such proposals were not put forward at the session.

The participants in the session deemed it necessary to set up a special commission to discuss proposals on basic matters concerning cooperation within the CMEA and to draft new documents. The commission's work will be of great importance for the future of the council.

Gerasimov Holds 22 Jan Briefing in Moscow

Nakhichevan Secession Ruled Out

AU2201141390 Paris AFP in English 1322 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 22 (AFP)—The declaration of secession by the autonomous republic of Nakhichevan, part of Azerbaijan, is unconstitutional, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here Monday.

"Nakhichevan, as an autonomous region, cannot dissociate itself from the union. So this is not a thoughtful measure," Mr. Gerasimov told a press briefing.

He further criticised Saturday's declaration of independence by the Supreme Soviet of the region, saying: "They want to join someone across the border, but no one wants them."

Nakhichevan is a small enclave bordering Iran and Turkey, separated from Azerbaijan by Armenia.

Asked what Moscow thought of a declaration adopted in the early hours of Monday by the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, threatening secession by the entire republic if troops were not pulled out of Baku, Mr. Gerasimov said he had no such information.

Reaction to Azerbaijan Events

LD2201152290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1441 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 January (TASS)—The actions of the Soviet leadership aimed at a most speedy settlement to the interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia have been perceived with understanding by the majority of foreign governments and by the international community, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at a briefing held here today.

Thus, he said, the participants in an extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, held in Dublin, supported the decision of the Soviet leadership to send units into Azerbaijan to restore order there. A message from Roland Dumas, French minister of foreign affairs, addressed to Eduard Shevardnadze similarly voiced the hope that conditions will be restored in the Transcaucasus for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples who live in that area. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, and Gianni de Michelis, head of Italy's Foreign Policy Department, have given similar assessments, the latter expressing the thought in the Italian press that it is not only the USSR that has bitter interethnic conflicts, but also countries such as Great Britain and the United States. Gennadiy Gerasimov quoted an extract from a White House statement on the Transcaucasus which points out that "it is the obligation of any government to support law and order and protect its citizens."

Together with these, the Soviet spokesman said, there is also a statement by the Iranian Foreign Ministry which expresses deep regret concerning the "incorrect" measures taken by the USSR.

The USSR Foreign Ministry representative refuted the attempts of certain of the mass media to interpret the events in the Transcaucasus as some kind of collision with religious roots. He stressed in this connection that the events that have occurred around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast have, as indicated in official statements, purely ethnic, interethnic, economic and social grounds, and there is no reasoning to qualify them in any other way.

In answer to questions from journalists on the declaration of independence by the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Azerbaijan), Gennadiy Gerasimov said: "As far as I remember in our Constitution, an autonomous formation does not have the right to secede from the Soviet Union." "I think that this is simply an ill thought-out gesture," he added.

Touching on the reasons for the removal of Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov from the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that "the leadership of Azerbaijan was severely criticized because it was not able to cope with the situation; it lost control over it." "From this, naturally, resulted what we call an 'organizational conclusion [orgvyvod],'" Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

Iranian View of Clashes

LD2201184290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpts] A briefing took place today in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry for Soviet and foreign journalists. Dwelling on a number of specific questions concerning current USSR international policy, Comrade Gerasimov, chief of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, noted in particular:

[Begin Gerasimov recording]: The Soviet leadership's measures for a most rapid settlement to the interethnic conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia have been perceived with understanding by the majority of governments, mass news media, and world public. [passage omitted]

In Vienna, FRG Foreign Minister Genscher had a meeting with journalists and appraised the actions of troops as an attempt to avert civil war, but not as a step in the direction of tightening order and returning to repressions. [passage omitted]

That's the general picture of international reaction to what we have now decided to do in the Transcaucasus, but to this general picture I shall add one feature so that it should be a full picture—namely, that we have, of course, noted the statement made by the Iranian Foreign Ministry. In that statement, regret is expressed over the

incorrect—in its view—measures, since the use of force will not help to resolve the problem. [passage omitted]

U.S. Statement on Afghanistan

LD2201161890 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov commented today on U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robert Kimmit's statement during his visit to Pakistan that the transition from war to peace required in the Afghan situation ought to signify the transfer of power from President Najibullah to someone else.

Naturally, Gerasimov noted, a certain period of time is required to pass from the present situation in Afghanistan to peace. In this sense it may mark a transition towards the formation of a broad-based government with the participation of all Afghan political forces. In the process the antagonistic sides are expected to agree on a ceasefire and begin a dialogue on a settlement.

The basis for such a dialogue, the Soviet spokesman said, can be provided by the plan put forward by President Najibullah. The plan envisages several steps that must lead to a general election under United Nations supervision and the formation, as a result, of a new Afghan government.

It will create an opportunity for Afghans to decide independently, without outside prodding or intervention, what forces and personalities should exercise state authority in the country.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, Gerasimov noted, this plan meets the interests of all Afghan political forces.

Gorbachev Message to SFRY

LD2201145290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 January (TASS)—At a briefing which took place here today Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, acquainted journalists with the contents of a message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was handed over the other day by the USSR ambassador in Yugoslavia to Janez Drnousek, president of the Presidency of the SFRY.

This message, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, is a reply to the appeal by Janez Drnousek to Mikhail Gorbachev made on the eve of the Soviet-American summit meeting off Malta. In it the Yugoslav leader, in his capacity as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, stressed the great significance of the dialogue between the USSR and the United States on questions of disarmament, security, and the preservation of peace. He also noted that without economic relaxation the process of reducing tension in the world would be incomplete, unbalanced, and unstable.

Gerasimov said that Mikhail Gorbachev's message in reply expresses agreement with such an approach, which reflects the urgent needs, the aspirations of the nonaligned countries and speaks of the universal significance of the new political thinking. It notes that solving the complicated and varied economic problems both of the nonaligned countries themselves and of the entire world community is possible only through an all-embracing dialogue which will assist in creating stable external conditions for broad economic cooperation based on equal rights of all states, regardless of their social system. The Nonaligned Movement is called on to play a major role here, and the Soviet Union is open to all-round dialogue and cooperation with it.

U.S. Called 'Evasive' on Baltic Question

PM2201133190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Notes": "The West and Lithuania, and Nagorno-Karabakh Too"]

[Text] During M.S. Gorbachev's 3-day trip to Lithuania he was accompanied, as already reported in our newspaper, by more than 200 foreign correspondents. An unprecedented number for an internal trip, and unprecedented interest abroad in our internal affairs and in the critical phase through which perestroyka is passing, although in recent years generally it is wrong to complain of a lack of foreign interest in us.

The Soviet leader had hardly had time to return to Moscow and the West had hardly had time to decide whether or not his mission had slowed down the process of Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union (the majority of commentators have no doubt that this process is taking place) before the bloody events developed in the Transcaucasus, around Nagorno-Karabakh, and there followed the decree imposing a state of emergency there. Once again our internal affairs are at the center of world attention, and once again there is talk everywhere of very acute tests—tests to the breaking point—of perestroyka, as well as talk about its fate and that of M.S. Gorbachev. About the use of force (military force!) to restrain or curb the obvious centrifugal processes which were previously hidden under the yoke of the system in a multinational state but have now risen to the surface thanks to democracy which has extended the bounds of what is permitted. About where, how, under what conditions, and to what limits force can be used to protect perestroyka and beyond which limits it will become its funeral knell. These questions are familiar to us too, although—with particular superstition and unaccustomed to glasnost'—we do not discuss them as widely as in the West. However, it is also harder for us to discuss them as calmly and impartially, for the people "there"

are dissecting our wounds from the sidelines, while we have to cut into our own living body.

More specifically, what is being said "there?" For example, which side does official Washington take on the "Lithuanian question"—Gorbachev's or Brazauskas'? That of the central Soviet leadership or the Lithuanian Communist Party, which has proclaimed its independence as a stage on the way to moving toward an independent Lithuanian state? The Americans—the press, above all—are pressing the Bush Administration, demanding that it define its position. But, and this is the first thing that should be pointed out, it avoids a clear-cut position. This is certainly not without purpose, and not only for reasons of diplomatic etiquette and a reluctance to offend Moscow or Vilnius.

In order to convey the nuances (not that these are the chief thing) I will cite verbatim from White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater's recent dialogues with correspondents.

He was asked: Does the President not think in connection with the events in the Soviet Union that Gorbachev's political problems are far more serious than it seemed earlier—at the time of the Malta summit meeting, for example?

He replied: We do not intend to get involved in discussions about the Soviet Union's political difficulties. Of course, the President supports the reforms and efforts of Chairman Gorbachev. He spoke of this in Malta and other places, and we do not consider it useful for us to discuss his domestic political problems.

"Historically, is it not our position that we do not recognize the Baltic states' incorporation in the Soviet Union?"

"Yes, that is our position."

"Why, then, are you afraid to say that we support the movement for independence?"

"We continue to point out that we have never recognized their incorporation (in the USSR). We do not wish to take any position that would help one of the sides. We simply want to repeat our existing position."

"But, by saying that we support Gorbachev's reforms, are we not saying that we support his statements that this movement for independence poses a threat to the process of reforms in the Soviet Union?"

"We do not intend to comment on his specific statements."

This is the official disposition. Evasive. When correspondents tried to secure clarification from State Department spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler, they heard this reply: "I have nothing to add to that." When they made their way straight through to President Bush, they heard something no less evasive. In an interview in BUSINESS WEEK magazine he said the following: "I am always being asked to express my views on 'what will happen if Gorbachev uses force' or 'what will happen if one Baltic state or another secedes from the USSR.' The most terrible foreign policy mistake that a president could make would be to answer hypothetical questions of that nature. I do not intend to do this, for we want one thing: to promote the ongoing nature of peaceful changes."

Of course, our difficulties cannot be compared with the difficulties of Washington's reaction to them. Nevertheless, Washington, like its allies in West Europe, finds itself in a complex position. It is "torn" (a frequently used word) between the logic of its traditional, 50-year-old stance of not recognizing the Baltic republics' accession to the Soviet Union and the new stance of supporting perestroyka and being afraid to do it extra harm. In its heart it adheres to the old stance, but in its mind to the new one—probably not only in its mind, however. For it is a question, as THE NEW YORK TIMES put it, of "a later but, at the same time, ardent desire to see Mikhail Gorbachev in power as a Soviet president whose positions would not be undermined by disturbances within the country." A question of the correlation between the main and the secondary, between the whole and the part.

In Malta, and not only in Malta, the Americans gave assurances that they would not exploit the difficulties facing the Soviet leadership in East Europe and in the Soviet Union itself. And here, again, it is a question not of a sudden noble impulse but of a political calculation. At the present time there is a coinciding of interests between the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as its allies in West Europe, that is unique for the entire postwar period. In principle we have found a common language on questions of reducing military confrontation, and it is increasingly becoming only a matter of diplomatic technique to reach specific agreements. Trust in each other has increased immeasurably, since both sides already had sufficient practical grounds for being convinced of the peaceful nature of each other's intentions. Movement along the path of democracy and openness, which has resulted from perestroyka, has made the Soviet state's conduct in the international arena more predictable. Soviet foreign policy, having lost all manifestations of expansionism, is obviously subordinate to the strategy of summoning up strength to resolve internal tasks—above all, economic tasks. Moscow's attitude toward the peaceful revolutions in East Europe has, like nothing else, convinced Washington and the West European capitals that those whom the West considered Soviet satellites have undoubtedly gone over to being ranked as independent states in control of their own destiny, and, what is more, along lines that deprive communists of a monopoly on power, along the lines of a multiparty system.

People in the West are speaking of the collapse of socialism, while we speak of its renewal. But whatever it is called, the general direction of the radical reforms in the East suits the West perfectly. They have something to

lose if perestroyka chokes or collapses beneath the weight of its own numerous problems and if the Soviet Union recoils, to the joy of both our own and foreign conservatives who are endeavoring to quickly bring back the former state of confrontation, citing each other's words and actions to justify suspicion, hatred, and intolerance, which are once again being revived.

The chief problem now is the excessive speed of the changes, which strengthens the impression that they are out of control and that the end result is unclear. It is not only in the vital interests of the Soviet Union but also in the historical interests of Western parliamentary democracies to avoid an excessive load on perestroyka. It is from just this angle that what is happening in Lithuania is viewed even by people there who have never concealed their sympathies for the idea of its secession from the USSR. They are even most concerned now that the movement in this direction should not supplant the more important multifaceted process of political and economic transformations in the USSR. The unprecedented exacerbation of the situation in the Transcaucasus also has increased the alarm by once again showing the heterogeneity—and the multinationality—of the Soviet Union, which nourishes centrifugal forces and trends. To single out the predominant motif in Western commentaries on M.S. Gorbachev's trip to Lithuania, it is that Lithuania's movement toward independence has not been halted, but a hope has emerged that this will extend over the several years that are needed to elaborate and introduce stage by stage a constitutional mechanism for the republic's secession from the USSR.

The dramatic nature of the situation is conveyed by a well-known political expert—William Hyland, chief editor of the influential U.S. foreign policy journal FOREIGN AFFAIRS: "In the present crisis Gorbachev probably needs to gain time. I believe that it is impossible to resolve the problem in such a way that both Gorbachev and Lithuania would secure the full satisfaction of their interests. Their positions are too polar. For the USSR it is evidently a question of the gravest crisis since the invasion of Hitler. The path of using military force also remains. But this choice will mean the immediate end of the Gorbachev era and his policy. A liberal reformer is certainly not what it takes to issue orders to troops."

In discussing the Baltic region, Hyland bears in mind, of course, the nature of the measures used in a political struggle which fits within the framework of the law and the principle of the nations' self-determination. In the situation of killings, pogroms, and raging violence which has once again arisen around the Nagorno-Karabakh problem no sober-minded politician or observer disputes the need to use force, including armed force, to protect human lives and ensure public order. If criticism is leveled at Moscow, it is only to accuse it of being slow to use force.

I will permit myself one more extensive quote from the Italian newspaper IL GIORNALE. Its author, I. Montanelli, writes: "How did the Balts not realize that the narrowing of borders is 'hara-kiri,' which no statesman could impose on his country, still less after it laid down 20 million lives to defend and extend them."

"Talleyrand said," he continues, "that a crime in politics is a pardonable sin, only a mistake is a mortal sin. Stalin, of course, committed a big mistake not so much because he swallowed up three Baltic republics in 1940, but because he tried to turn them into conventional Soviet provinces and the very next year to Russify them by means of a 'blood transfusion' (one-third of the Estonian population was deported and replaced by Russians from the sticks) and by leveling them with an ideological roller. Experience has shown that ideology cannot cancel out cultural and national originality. But the only person who is capable of rectifying that mistake and who, to judge from very eloquent symptoms, intends to do so is Gorbachev, if he is given time to do so. Owing to their intransigence, the Balts may very well not give him that time, and precisely this strikes us as a more pernicious mistake than any crime."

We will not get into an argument with Talleyrand, who long ago left this world, over the pardonable nature of a crime in politics. But, as for the rest, both the Italian Montanelli and the American Hyland argue sensibly and give very reasonable warnings. A new phenomenon for us—the phenomenon of democracy—has opened up many opportunities. A sense of responsibility also comes with democracy, but later, for it has to mature but does not ripen because people who yearn to freely express their will seek to use the new opportunities as quickly as possible, sometimes unwisely and sometimes in a terrible way, as we are now witnessing.

By sacrificing millions upon millions of victims, we in the Soviet Union stood—were forced to stand—the test of a totalitarian regime for decades. And now we are undergoing a quite different test, but one that is also extraordinarily difficult in its own way—the test of democracy. Will we manage to pass this test and not break down into chaos and anarchy? Do we have the capacity for democracy? So many problems and misfortunes have accumulated, but the answer depends, in the end, not only on the leadership, not only on Gorbachev, but also on every citizen, on our sense of—I will not fear a big word—historical responsibility. The civilized world is observing us with tremendous interest, with hope and alarm.

End of International Environmental Forum Described

PM2201155190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[TASS report: "The Earth's Future in Our Hands. Global Forum Ends"]

[Excerpts] "We participants in the global forum of religious figures and parliamentarians, assembled in

Moscow in January 1990 and representing various countries, cultures, religions, and traditions, realize that we belong to a single mankind. In the spirit of love and mutual respect which reigned at our previous meeting in Oxford, we arrived at agreement on the question of the threat to our common future. We are switching to actions and mapped out certain avenues for these actions. We call on the governments and peoples of the earth to treat these problems with realism and courage."

These are words from the global forum's declaration which was adopted 19 January, the last day of the congress' work. [passage omitted]

Having left the International Trade Center's Congress Hall, the parliamentarians, religious leaders, scientists, and figures from culture and the arts arrived at the Kremlin when the forum's final sitting was held. The ceremony was attended by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and PRAVDA Chief Editor I.T. Frolov. [passage omitted]

UN's Perez de Cuellar Remarks on Moscow Visit

LD2301093790 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] New York January 23 TASS—"Our visit to Moscow proved to be an extremely useful and rewarding experience, both in terms of what we were able to accomplish professionally as well as on a purely personal level. The meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev was a perfect example of that," United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar told TASS.

"On the one hand, we had a fruitful and thought-provoking discussion on a broad range of international issues, with a special emphasis on ways of enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in bringing a peaceful resolution to various problems facing the world today," Perez de Cuellar said.

"On the other hand, it was a very warm and friendly conversation with a person I have the greatest respect for, a man of tremendous intellectual strength, political vision and personal charm.

"The new political thinking in the USSR is widely recognised as a major contributing factor to the improvement of the international situation," the U.N. chief said.

"I had an excellent chance to witness the constructive nature of this approach to world affairs during our discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

"The visit to Moscow, despite its briefness, helped me to have a more full appreciation of the vigour and richness of the political, economic and intellectual life in your country at this moment," Perez de Cuellar said.

"We had our own perestroyka at the United Nations, and I know quite well that it is a difficult and sometimes painful process. But its potential rewards certainly outweigh any inconveniences and difficulties one has to overcome while restructuring is underway.

"I would like to stress that I was very encouraged by the support for the United Nations expressed at the meetings with representatives of public, scientific, religious and cultural circles of the Soviet Union.

"These meetings also confirmed my impression that there is a keen awareness in your country of the potential dangers of the environmental crisis, both at the grassroots level and among your top leadership.

"So it was in many ways symbolic I think that the global forum on environment and development for survival was held in the capital of the USSR," Perez de Cuellar said.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Cites Bush NEWSWEEK Interview

PM2301112590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "G. Bush's Opinion"]

[Text] New York, 22 Jan—U.S. President G. Bush has given an interview to the influential U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK in which he has touched on a broad range of problems of domestic and international policy.

In particular the president dwelled on the situation in the Soviet Transcaucasus. Answering the magazine's question: "Are you perturbed by the use of force in Azerbaijan?" he said: "I would very much like it to have been possible to avoid this. But we have a situation in which the Soviet Union is trying to eliminate an ethnic conflict, an internal conflict. These difficult problems are not made any easier by high-flown talk from the leaders of other countries."

G. Bush noted that M.S. Gorbachev is encountering "exceptionally complex problems. But I have great respect for what he is trying to do and we are seeing (in the Soviet Union—magazine's note) unprecedented public debates on these issues."

Touching on the accusations of passivity and lack of resolve leveled against him by his political opponents, G. Bush said: "I think the American people would like to have a president who displays caution and circumspection in the face of a rapidly changing world."

Ambassador Matlock Meets Leningrad Party Official

90UN0656B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 89 p 1

[TASS report: "Conversation with U.S. Ambassador"]

[Text] Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, is in our city. On 7 December, he paid an official visit to B.V. Gidaspov, the first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom [oblast party committee] and Gorkom [city party committee] of the CPSU.

Welcoming the ambassador, B.V. Gidaspov concentrated attention on the Soviet-U.S. high-level meeting that was concluded on Malta, emphasizing that this event is of historic significance. The dialogue between the leaders of both great powers gave a new impetus to improvement of the world political situation. The Malta meeting is viewed as a new constructive step toward extending mutual understanding and cooperation in relations between the USSR and the United States.

Jack Matlock, expressing his gratitude for the welcome, reported that he was on Malta during the meeting between G. Bush and M.S. Gorbachev. And, as an eyewitness to what transpired, he can speak of the real historical significance of this event which received such great response in the world. In light of the changes that are occurring, including in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, J. Matlock said, work has increased in the embassy. But it has become more interesting and constructive.

The ambassador noted further that, as a result of the improvement in relations between the United States and the USSR, a more intensive development has begun in the elaboration of problems of economic cooperation between the two countries. The U.S. side is for broadening these ties on a mutually beneficial basis.

The leader of the Leningrad party organization shared J. Matlock's statement concerning the importance of developing bilateral economic cooperation. To a question from the interlocutor concerning how the socio-political situation in Leningrad is assessed, he answered that it was difficult to define it simply. A majority of Leningrad residents take democratic positions and, in this respect, support M.S. Gorbachev completely. The processes occurring in the city and in the oblast are dynamic. The Leningrad party organization has started a dialogue with all public formations that support perestroyka. And an example of this is the last meeting that was held in which representatives of various groups participated. Now there is a real possibility of working up a common platform, and, one must think, that a rapprochement of positions will be continued.

Speaking about problems of economic and social development, B.V. Gidaspov said that Leningrad always occupied a leading position in the country in economics, science, and culture. But lately many problems have to be resolved that are associated with economic reform, structural changes in the national economy and in socio-political processes. In particular, a shortage of goods and services has developed. The people of Leningrad are trying to eliminate this imbalance at the expense of the conversion of defense enterprises. The cooperatives can also help in the development of services, but on condition that the labor of others is not exploited.

Responding to a question about the attitude toward joint enterprises, B.V. Gidaspov said that they are already operating in Leningrad. But a lot of independence has to be granted directly to localities in resolving problems in the creation of such enterprises.

In conclusion, J. Matlock declared that the U.S. side has begun to understand the objectives and tasks of perestroyka in the Soviet Union better, and he expressed the hope that it will be completed successfully.

Attending the talks were V.A. Lopatnikov, a representative of the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], G.I. Tkachev, head of the department of foreign relations of the obkom, and Richard Miles, the U.S. consul general in Leningrad.

On the same day, the ambassador visited the Optico-Mechanical Association imeni V.I. Lenin, and he met with students of Leningrad University.

Yesterday, he continued his familiarization with Leningrad, and he will leave for Moscow Saturday.

U.S.-USSR Citizens Hold Meeting in Moscow

LD2301011790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1817 GMT 22 Jan 90

[by TASS Correspondents Sergey Skripnikov and Mikhail Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS) At the second Soviet-American high level meeting of citizens taking place here, the work has started in sections—participants divided themselves into working groups in several concrete areas. Among them, global ecological and economic cooperation, international security, public health, education, human rights, religion, and many other urgent problems of today, the solution of which in many ways depends on coordinated actions of the public representatives in both countries.

We shall remind you: 200 Americans and 400 Soviet citizens are taking part in the meeting so the first working day was almost entirely devoted to getting to know each other.

The work of the section called "international contacts through mass media and art" proceeded in an interesting and nonstandard way: its participants expressed many concrete ideas which already seem quite realistic. Here they did not feel shy about expressing criticism of each other which testified not to the former intentions to hit the opponent where it hurts, but rather of the sincere interest in making clear the real state of affairs to the interlocutor. Thus, the cochairman of the working group, a well-known Soviet film director Stanislav Rostotskiy, critisized the Americans for the fact that, in his opinion, the American viewers are much less familiar with Soviet cinema than the Soviet viewers are with U.S. cinema. He suggested organizing—first of all, in colleges and universities—a noncommercial showing of Soviet films and starting a search for sponsors who would finance this undertaking. Another, no less constructive suggestion of the Soviet director was to organize a meeting this year of the USSR and U.S. veteran war cinematographers, making it coinside with the 45th anniversary of the victory in the war against Fascist Germany in which, as Rostotskiy reminded, "the two countries were allies". According to Stanislav Rostotskiy, he already has the confirmed support of the representatives from the USSR Ministry of Defense and Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador in USSR.

China

Roundup on Sino-Soviet Trade Cooperation

OW1901131790 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] We shall sum up the year 1989 in the following program, but, first of all, let us listen to a song entitled "The Swift Horse," which has a direct relation with the topic. [passage omitted]

The year 1989, which soon draws to an end, is a turning point in many fields of endeavor, as far as Sino-Soviet relations are concerned. First of all, it was in 1989 that a turning point was reached in the field of political affairs. What happened in the field of trade between our two countries in 1989? What news do we have of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and China? What prospect do we have in this field? Station reporter (Mororev) asked (Mohov), a responsible person in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, to answer these questions.

[(Mohov) briefly heard speaking in Russian, fading to Mandarin translation] (Mohov) said: The Sino-Soviet summit held in May this year turned over a new leaf in trade relations between the Soviet Union and China. The main orientation, aimed at promoting active and direct bilateral cooperation, was formulated during the talks between Gorbachev and Li Peng, premier of China's State Council, and between Maslyukov, chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee, and Chinese leaders.

Primary potential exists in the field of economic relations to expand ties to our mutual benefit. Among them are, first, the establishment of joint-venture enterprises, processing of materials supplied by foreign firms themselves, utilization of China's labor force, tripartite cooperation with the participation of Japan or other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, and economic and technical contacts in the border areas. Regarding the traditional form of cooperation, such as trade, as everyone knows, it has enjoyed considerable development over the past 10 years.

Trade volume between the Soviet Union and China in 1988 reached a total of $2.9 billion, 1,100 percent more than the level registered in 1981. Border trade is also developing rapidly. It has enjoyed a growth rate of 20,000 percent since 1983. Contracts on border trade, worth a total of $274 million, were signed last year. The figure is expected to exceed $500 million this year. Experts are of the opinion that an increase of 50 to 100 percent in merchandise turnover for border trade is very likely. Evaluation of trade between two countries, or the so-called macro trade, is comparatively cautious. Most economists in the Soviet Union and China believe that this kind of trade will grow at an average annual rate of 5 to 7 percent in the next few years until the end of this century. In other words, the period in which the macro trade enjoyed a swift development was already over.

What is the main reason for a slowdown in the growth rate of merchandise turnover between the two sides? It is that both sides felt a drastic shortage of competitive export products. Each side tried hard to sell [words indistinct] kinds of products which can earn foreign exchange on the [words indistinct] market. The Soviet side tried to sell timber, crude oil, and steel products, while China tried to sell agricultural products. [words indistinct] tried to sell products whose quality was not

the best to the other side. For example, the commodities that the Soviet Union exported to China were mainly the products of the communications, transportation, electric power, electrical machinery, and machine-building industries, and coal-producing facilities. The quality of these products being such, our trade partners on the Chinese side did not want to increase their purchase volume, though their prices were cheaper. We had a similar situation on our side. For example, the Soviet Union wanted to import consumer goods from China, including durables. However, we did not want to use convertible foreign exchange to purchase these goods. Thus, both sides tended to exhaust the potential for increasing merchandise turnover. What is the way out of this problem? The answer to this question will be broadcast after a few minutes' break. Let us now listen to some music. [passage omitted]

(Mohov), a responsible person of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union, goes on with his talk on the status quo of Sino-Soviet economic relations and trade, and the prospects for their development. He has just touched on the topic that the potential for further expanding the barter trade between the two countries is nearly exhausted. What is the solution for this problem?

(Mohov) replied: [(Mohov) heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading to Mandarin translation] It seems that the future prospects for Sino-Soviet economic ties will be a new and modern cooperation. For instance, the prospect of cooperation involving many countries in Siberia and the Far East region [of the Soviet Union] is truly broad and boundless. It is as if fate itself were enabling the economies of all countries to supplement one another. Let us just think about these facts. The Soviet Union has the most abundant forest and mineral resources; while China has a huge labor force, and Japan has a great number of advanced technologies.

The proposal made by Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk on setting up joint economic zones in the Far East and Siberia is a guide for developing economic relations involving cooperation among many countries in the 21st Century. Setting up stable organizations for economic ties among many countries in the Far East region to greatly boost the economic and scientific and technological potential in the region is precisely the outcome of carrying out the proposed concept. Regretably, it is not easy to achieve this objective. Sound foundations are needed to promote cooperation between many countries, namely, fully-fledged modern organizations, expert technicians, and reliable sources of raw materials, electric power, and building materials.

What preparations has the Far East part of the Soviet Union made? Quite obviously, there is none whatsoever for the time being. Therefore, this kind of cooperation can only be fully utilized in the first 10 years of the 21st Century, though it has a bright future. This gives rise to a question. What shall we do in the near and foreseeable future? Trade potential of both sides has been basically exhausted. The ties of multinational companies have not been established yet. Under these circumstances, is there nothing we can do about it, except mark time and wait for the coming of the 21st Century? No. There is a great future for economic relations and trade in the next few years. Besides, there is another real situation which will rapidly develop in the near future, that is, turning the Chinese labor force to good account in the Soviet Union.

Currently, there are thousands of Chinese workers [words indistinct] working in Amur Oblast, Khabarovsk, and the coastal and border regions. They are engaged in lumbering, transportation, and construction. It happens that the Soviet Union is short of labor in these sectors. At first, both countries were worried that new problems would be caused by contacts under the new situation, problems related to lifestyle, nationality affairs, and business activities. However, an initial step forward has been smoothly taken in this respect. It is entirely possible that the number of Chinese laborers will increase to 40,000 or 50,000 in the next 3 to 5 years. In addition, experience in setting up joint-venture enterprises and developing production by dividing labor has been acquired.

It is therefore entirely possible for us to be optimistic about the prospect of Sino-Soviet cooperation in the future, added (Mohov).

Soviet-Chinese Friendship Festival Planned

OW2001045790 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] At the end of last year, the USSR-China Friendship Society and the China-USSR Friendship Association signed a 1990-1991 cooperation plan, which stipulated that the two sides should expand the existing ties, exchange tourist groups, hold Soviet-Chinese friendship meetings, and sponsor various evening parties marking noted Soviet and Chinese personages and events. In addition, the plan also included new activities. We now invite (Milov), executive secretary of the USSR-China Friendship Society, to brief us:

[(Milov) heard speaking briefly in Russian fading into announcer translation] [Announcer] Comrade (Milov) said: The USSR-China Friendship Society and the China-USSR Friendship Association will sponsor a folk creative art festival in Alma-Ata in September 1990. We invite more than 40 artists and creative workers in Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region, including noted singers, musicians, and dancers of all nationalities in Xinjiang. The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic's noted actors and actresses and full-time and spare-time theatrical companies will participate in the festival. During the festival, painting and photograph exhibitions showing the lifestyle of the people of all Soviet socialist republics will also be held. In addition, visitors will also visit other cities of Kazakhstan. The festival will last 2

weeks. In 1991, a similar festival will be held in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region.

This reporter asked: Has Alma-Ata started to make preparations for this festival?

[(Milov) heard briefly speaking in Russian]

[Announcer] The USSR-China Friendship Society in Kazakhstan is now speeding up preparations to select Soviet actors and actresses and choose programs for soloists and groups. Preparations for exhibitions are also under way. Touching on the details of performances during the festival, Comrade (Milov) said: The festivals to be held in Alma-Ata and Urumqi in turn will make tremendous contributions to Soviet-Chinese cultural exchange and the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. [passage omitted]

Official on PRC Science, Technology Cooperation

OW2101180790 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Announcer read report on interview with Vladimir Yezhkov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, by station reporter Kalipov; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] The Soviet-Chinese Permanent Committee for Cooperation in Science and Technology begins its work in Beijing today. It is a governmental, working organ of the Soviet Union and China. The Permanent Committee takes turns holding meetings in Moscow and Beijing in order to lay down general conditions for cooperation plans, establish contacts, and draw up plans for future cooperation. Station reporter Kalipov asked Vladimir Yezhkov, chairman of the Soviet side of the Permanent Committee and deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology, about the agenda to be discussed at the Beijing meeting.

[Yezhkov] As usual, we will sum up the results from last year and then go into a detailed discussion of the plans reached by relevant departments of the two countries. We are not satisfied with current approaches to cooperation. Therefore, I hope the Beijing meeting will straighten out problems in the current approaches to cooperation. The thought behind establishing an innovation fund and an information center for science and technology will be at the top of the agenda at the meeting of the Permanent Commission in Beijing.

[Kalipov] Could you please elaborate on the significance of the creation of the innovation fund and on the future information center?

[Yezhkov] In my opinion, the establishment of the fund and information center is aimed at promoting scientific and technological cooperation. We have plans to build an information center, both in Moscow and Beijing. These centers will be meeting places for scientists and experts to exchange information. Special units offering coordination services in negotiating the sale of patent rights will also be set up shops at the center. I believe that the most important aspect of all is that these centers will be the meeting places for future cooperation partners. If bold and imaginative ideas with promises of producing great economic returns and practical results should result from the contacts among scientists at the centers, then the innovation fund will offer material and monetary assistance. We have already signed a letter of intent with China on creating such a provisional fund. I think the decision to create this fund will be made at the Beijing meeting.

[Kalipov] In addition to Beijing, will your commission visit other Chinese cities?

[Yezhkov] We shall visit many cities in China. Shanghai is one of the cities we are going to visit. The aim of our visit is to mainly take a look at and study how the state plan for science and technology is implemented in China, and then to meet the leaders and people who actually execute the state plan. We are rather interested in the (word indistinct) of the scientific and technological management system.

Yezhkov, the Soviet chairman of the Commission for Cooperation in Science and Technology, also pointed out during the talk with our station reporter: Since we plan to carry out active cooperation in science and technology with China, we should become familiar with the decision-making system in China.

Northeast Asia

Commentator Appraises Kaifu's European Tour

OW2301103390 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Vasilyev commentary]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kaifu has returned home after winding up a European tour. In connection with this trip, Moscow Radio commentator Vasilyev writes as follows:

Prime Minister Kaifu's European tour may be considered the most impressive conduct of Japanese diplomacy in recent years. Prime Minister Kaifu promised a total of $2 billion, or $1.65 billion to be exact, in aid to Poland and Hungary, which are faced with big difficulties in shifting their economies to a market economy and creating an effective economic mechanism.

This nearly $2 billion can be regarded as a symbol which accurately manifests Japan's intent to play a (?modest) role, for the first time since World War II, in European affairs and in rapidly changing East-West relations .

Prime Minister Kaifu's European tour had some goals with the far distant future in view. First of all, it had the goal of laying the ground for new relations between West Europe and Japan, which are bound to be drastically

revised after the formation of an integrated West European market scheduled for 1992.

Prime Minister Kaifu declared on many occasions that he supports this policy of regional integration. However, Japan without a doubt feels threatened by the outlook that a powerful, (?all division of labor) community embracing the advanced nations in Europe will emerge.

Therefore, it is by no means fortuitous that, in his summit talks in West European countries, Prime Minister Kaifu tried hard to obtain assurances from future members of the integrated market that they would not pursue trade protectionism. Although the West European countries assured Japan that they would not pursue protectionism, Japan can not feel at ease, taking their assurances as mere lip service.

Accordingly, Japan's decision to provide a large sum of aid to Poland and Hungary is linked to the idea that Japan is not only eyeing increased profits through expanded exports as before, but is ready to bear a considerable amount of expense to support the Western policy of fulfilling international obligations and reforms in the East European nations.

In an attempt to emphasize its positiveness, the Japanese side sometimes made excessive statements. It, for instance, claimed that the European Development Bank, inaugurated this week at the proposal of French President Mitterand for East European nations, was established at Japan's initiative.

The $2 billion was a form of advance payment which Japan was ready to pay in order to explore the possibility of maintaining its presence in Europe after 1992 and a vote for decisionmaking on Europe.

Japan probably has in mind a second formula of entering the integrated regional market through the back door, called the East European countries, which show increasingly greater interest in developing relations with the West, even if protectionism heightens.

On the other hand, strengthening its influence by expanding contacts with and giving large-scale economic assistance to this region also accorded with Japan's purpose of remedying its dependence exclusively on the United States and keeping a balance.

Prime Minister Kaifu's statements during his European tour can be interpreted to mean that the Kaifu cabinet is ready to launch independent diplomacy. No matter how bold Prime Minister Kaifu's statements may have been, his statements in general remain within the framework of policies already agreed to bv the United States. This is applicable even to his remarks on the decision to give a large sum of aid to Poland and Hungary and the necessity of relaxing some of the controls of the Cocom, the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls, against the two countries.

Many observers note that there were distinct signals given to the Soviet Union during Prime Minister Kaifu's European tour. The signals Prime Minister Kaifu sent to the Soviet Union mean that, in principle, Japan is ready to cooperate with the Soviet Union in broad areas, as it did with Poland and Hungary.

At the same time, however, Prime Minister Kaifu incessantly stressed that the fruition of the Soviet perestroyka policy is not visible in Asia. According to explanations given by a key Japanese Government official, who accompanied Prime Minister Kaifu, this refers to the so-called Northern Territories issue, namely, a territorial demand on some islands in the Soviet Kurile Islands.

In other words, this means that during his European tour, Prime Minister Kaifu confirmed in a roundabout way the old theme of Japanese diplomacy that the all-round development of Japanese relations with the Soviet Union is possible only when the Japanese territorial demand is accepted by the Soviet Union.

It may be impossible to expect that Japan's new diplomacy toward Europe, made public during Prime Minister Kaifu's European tour, will be carried into practice without a due, cautious approach taken toward the Soviet Union, which has a decisive influence on the European situation.

More on Mongolian Democratic Union Demonstration

LD2201225690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] A mass meeting, organized by the Mongolian Democratic Union [MDU], has been held in the central square of the Mongolian capital, named after Sukhe Baatar. Our correspondent Vladimir Korolev reports from Ulaanbaatar:

[Korolev] In spite of the temporary restriction by the city authorities on the organization of mass activities here, the participants in this demonstration entered the square from the four sides, having gathered in agreed places beforehand. They did not run into any obstacles from the law enforcement organs on their way. The citizens' constitutional right to meetings and to other forms of expression of their wishes were not violated. However, the correspondents of U.S., British, French, and Canadian media who arrived here from Beijing to monitor the course of the meeting, it seems, expected the opposite. Its participants held placards calling for radical reforms. They said: We support perestroyka, broad democratization of social life, a 5-day working week, higher salaries, and higher standards of living for the people. What, in fact, is this organization that has become a political reality in Mongolia? Here is what the participants in this meeting themselves had to say in connection with this. A member of the MDU coordination council (Bashik):

[Begin (Bashik) recording in Mongolian fading into Koralev's report] Our union, he explains, is a sociopolitical organization. Among its ranks are representatives of all the strata of the population, who in one way or the other express their agreement and unity with MDU

aims. People of different professions and ages are participating. But representatives of the intelligentsia and the student youth prevail. To be brief, continues (Bashik), the aims of the MDU include a fundamental break with the Stalinist system that still exists in our society, and the liquidation of the administrative-command mechanism in the political and economic life of the country. [end recording]

The MDU meeting in Ulaanbaator ended with an ancient Mongolian tradition—the participants circled clockwise the Sukhe Baatar monument in the square.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Military Aid Cut-off to Cambodian Factions Viewed

BK2301080590 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Commentary by station observer Oleg Alekseyev]

[Text] Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan voiced his support for the appeal made by a group of members of Parliament calling for the complete cessation of military aid to Cambodian factions involved in the conflict. He regarded this as a most important prologue to the Cambodian solution.

Our observer, Oleg Alekseyev, comments as follows:

This new stance taken by the Thai Government bears a special significance, for it is generally known that military aid for the opposing Khmer groups, first of all for the Khmer Rouge, has been shipped through Thai territory. The appeal heard in Bangkok calling for the suspension of arms supplies to the Cambodian factions is thus most opportune. Since the Vietnamese troops completely pulled out from Cambodia last September, the Cambodian opposition parties have been very active militarily against the Phnom Penh forces. In a country where civil war is raging, the continuation of such arms supplies can bring nothing but serious consequences for both Cambodia itself, and for the cause of regional peace and stability in general. Through which methods then should we keep the event from developing toward this dangerous direction?

One cannot hope to see the Khmer Rouge chieftains exercise good judgment, for they have been attempting most glaringly to seize power through military means. However, should we manage to deprive this group and all those who have gambled on a military solution on the possibility of receiving foreign firearms and ammunitions, we would certainly succeed in attenuating their belligerence. It is this concept that is the crux of the idea of ceasing all foreign military aid to all Cambodian factions. It should be noted that this certainly concerns all factions involved in the conflict, meaning that it also includes the Phnom Penh government. Therefore, should this idea be implemented? It would certainly create a specific prologue for the cessation of the conflict. The special feature of this matter is that no single faction would gain any advantage.

In this connection, I would like to recall that the Soviet Union on the basis of complete mutual understanding reached both in Phnom Penh and Hanoi has long initiated the proposal that military aid to the Cambodian factions concerned should be ended. As recently stressed by Comrade Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev in his interview with Radio Moscow, this proposal was raised by Moscow for discussion with the United States and a number of countries interested. The Soviet proposal has enjoyed growing international support.

The statement just made by Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan is a signal testimony to that development. In my opinion, Thailand's unambiguous position on this matter will effectively promote the implementation of the aforesaid idea, an idea which is aimed at restoring peace in Cambodia, our observer Oleg Alekseyev says in conclusion.

Opposition Leader Barred from Burmese Elections

BK2001103590 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Station observer commentary: "New Twist and Turn on the Eve of Elections in Myanma"]

[Text] According to reports from Yangon [Rangoon], Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been recognized as a leading opposition leader, has been denied by the authorities of the right to stand in the multiparty elections to be held in May. The Yangon Division Elections Subcommission passed a decision on Tuesday night [16 January] to delete the name of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, general secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the National League for Democracy [NLD], from the candidature list. Moscow Radio observer views that this decision will further complicate the political situation in Myanma [Burma].

One day after the decision on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was made, more troops were deployed on the streets of Yangon and the Yangon City Hall was tightly guarded by troops. According to some news agency reports, three military trucks loaded with troops were seen driving toward the residence of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house arrest.

Barring of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of Myanma national hero General Aung San, from running in the elections, together with similar action taken against U Tin U, another well-known leader from the NLD, and U Nu, former prime minister of Myanma, attract more attention to the claim that the Myanma military government is trying to upset and weaken the most influential opposition parties before the elections.

The barring of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from the elections would make moderate Myanma people and organizations ask whether the forthcoming elections would indeed be free and sincere. Many observers are saying that the elections without Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and U Tin U would only undermine the country's prestige. The biggest reaction to the latest action of the authorities is expected to come from Myanma students.

As known to many people, the students played a leading role in the popular uprising of 1988, and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was the most popular politician during the movement. At a press conference held on 8 January, Ko Thet Tun, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Party for New Society, which is a legal student organization, said that if Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is not allowed to run in the elections, the people of Myanma, as well as the international community, will lose faith in the authorities. The international community is closely following the developments in Myanma with interests.

Many countries economically boycotted the military government after it came to power. However, after General Saw Maung made a pledge to hold free elections, they showed some faith in the Myanma military government. Japan recognized the Gen Saw Maung government on 17 February of last year, and Tokyo subsequently restored some of its aid programs. Similar action was taken by Australia. Meanwhile, economic relations with Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and China were improved. Observers abroad view the attitude of Myanma authorities toward opposition leaders as the yardstick for measuring Gen Saw Maung's sincerity for the pledge he made.

During a visit to Tokyo by a Myanma minister, Abel, during November last year, a question on Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's situation was raised. At that time many leaders from Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's party had been arrested and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had been under house arrest for 3 months. According to some news reports, the Japanese rejected the demand from the Myanma Foreign Ministry to fully restore the economic aid, expressing their concern at the general conditions of the country. Close ties between Yangon and Tokyo would make Japan comfortable if the conditions improved.

In their latest attempt to overcome the financial problem, the Myanma authorities has obtained some success in attracting cooperation from foreign businessmen. Some foreign companies have received licenses for the right to operate in Myanma, and eight major foreign oil companies have obtained licenses to explore oil in Myanma. These measures strengthen the faith in the Myanma military authorities and raise more hope for improvement of conditions for holding the elections. However, the reverse has happened, dashing almost all hopes and raising doubts.

When a Moscow Radio correspondent asked an official at the Myanma Embassy in Moscow to give his views on reports from Yangon, the official said he could not say anything definite on the matter, as he had not received full reports. Although it is true nothing definite can be said on what will happen in Myanma, as well as abroad, as a result of barring Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from contesting in the elections, but one thing can be said: The State Law and Order Restoration Council will certainly have to use a lot of strength to answer credibly to doubts and new accusations from the opposition.

Detente, Disarmament in Asia, Pacific Praised

OW2001072990 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] People in the world hail the Malta meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders as an outstanding event of 1989. They believe that talks between Comrade Gorbachev and Bush gave new impetus to the Soviet-U.S. relations, thus opening the way for further efforts to ease tensions and reduce arms. This led people in the Asia-Pacific region to speculate on the possibility of the two countries holding talks in 1990 to discuss the reduction of their naval forces and the elimination of dangerous naval confrontations. Rear Admiral Lebedev, the military observer of this station, addresses this issue in the special program "Current Commentary."

He said: It is understandable that people in Asian-Pacific countries are extremely concerned about eliminating military threats from the vast ocean in their region. Naval confrontations between the two powerful countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, have for many years plagued our planet's largest ocean, where the majority of human beings live. This is an indisputable fact. Dozens of frigates, equipped with the most powerful missiles and nuclear weapons, are deployed in confrontational positions, creating an extremely perilous situation in the region. Everybody is aware of the great risk in the area of conflict arising from accidental misunderstanding. The consequence of such a conflict is too dreadful to contemplate. This is the reason why Comrade Gorbachev put forward a plan in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk to ensure security in the Asia-Pacific region. The plan is vital to the elimination of military confrontations and the relaxation of tensions on the ocean. In keeping with the purport of its plan, the Soviet Union has unilaterally taken some measures—including, suggesting talks to the United States to discuss freezing and reducing the naval forces of the two countries. To show its sincerity, the Soviet Union has withdrawn 16 frigates from its Pacific fleet. Shortly afterward, it proposed to the United States that naval activities and exercises be curtailed in the region. The Soviet Union set a good example in this regard. Consequently, its military exercises in the Pacific Ocean are now limited to the seas of Japan and Okhotsk adjoining the Soviet coast.

In short, the Soviet Union advanced a series of specific proposals and took many concrete actions to ease tensions and promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Regrettably, the Soviet proposals failed to draw

concrete responses from the United States. Under the circumstances, it is not easy to tell whether the issue will be resolved in 1990. It should be noted that progress in this matter depends on the United States. However, I want to add that we should look to the future optimistically. In my opinion, our optimism is not without foundation. The process of detente is evolving at an increasingly rapid pace, and the types of weapons and armed forces discussed in arms talks are increasingly varied. Up until now, however, the process of detente, particularly that involving disarmament talks, has been chiefly limited to Europe. Besides, naval forces have yet to be included in the process.

Historical developments and new political thinking in international affairs have fostered aspirations in people throughout the world for eliminating war, easing tensions, and reducing arms on a global scale. In my opinion, discussions will be held in the near future to seek a solution, even if talks are not initiated in 1990 to discuss the reduction of naval weapons and the relaxation of tensions in the Asia-Pacific region. I am glad that some observers in Asian-Pacific countries share our optimism. For instance, Japan's MAINICHI SHIMBUN comments that detente and disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region is inevitable, despite the fact that arms talks have until now been mainly limited to Europe. The paper cites a relaxation of tensions in East-West relations and other factors for its prediction. I want to exclaim how nice it is. The inevitable development is not tension or arms buildup, but detente and disarmament.

Conversion of U.S. Bases in Philippines Viewed

HK2001063590 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Commentary by Viktor Vladimirov]

[Text] Jose Abueva, chairman of a commission created by President Corazon Aquino to explore alternative civilian uses of military bases, declared that he disagrees with Washington's statement that the Filipinos should be thankful for the existence of the military bases because they help the Philippine economy by pouring in hundreds of thousands of dollars every year. How did the commission find out about the figures, which have long been a secret? The subject is still being studied by many American and Filipino experts outside Abueva's group. Obviously, the study carried out by the commission was made public by experts from the University of the Philippines, where Abueva is the president.

According to the commission, only a small portion of the Washington money spent on the military bases goes into the Philippine economy. Of every dollar spent by the United States in the Philippines, 33 cents, or one-third of the dollar, goes back to the United States. Meanwhile, statements about economic gains to the towns and cities around the military bases are exaggerations. According to the commission, only 10,000 people actually benefit from the bases.

Meanwhile, it was recently revealed that Washington has not fulfilled its commitments under the memorandum of agreement concluded in Manila in 1988. This was verified by Nicholas Platt, U.S. ambassador to Manila, who himself expressed doubts about Washington's ability to honor its financial obligations to the Philippines, given its own financial problems. Our correspondent Vladimirov believes that the issue will be raised again in the coming talks between Manila and Washington in March/April.

Consequently, Senator Neptali Gonzales has called on President Aquino not to begin talks with the Americans on the fate of the military bases if Washington fails to honor its financial obligations. According to Gonzales, domestic problems of the United States should not be used as an excuse for its failure to fulfill its commitments to Manila.

Meanwhile, the commission headed by Abueva also reported that it will submit its recommendations to Mrs Aquino on conversion of the military bases for the economic and social development of the Philippines. For her part, President Aquino spoke on the importance of this program in view of the restoration of democracy in the East European states, as well as the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. According to President Aquino, it was very necessary to intensify the search for alternative uses of the military bases in the Philippines.

Soviet Parliamentarian Discusses Reform in USSR

BK1801154190 Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 17 Jan 90 p 12

[From the "Report" column by Manat Phuanglamchiak: "Will Soviet Reforms Be Successful?"]

[Excerpts] It is not so often that we have a chance to listen to a Soviet citizen speaking openly about politics in his country. I, therefore, would like to present to you parts of a talk given by (Dr Aleksandr Vladislalev), a member of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies.

(Dr Aleksandr Vladislalev) was in Thailand on 12 January for a conference of the World Council for Adult Education being held in Bangkok. The Soviet information service decided they could give the Thai mass media useful information about the confusing situation in East Europe, and especially the situation in the USSR where President Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka is being implemented, since a large number of people are wondering whether the Soviet ship of state will be successfully guided to its destination.

(Dr Vladislalev) confirmed that the policy of perestroyka will solve the problems in the Soviet Union. What must be carried out first are political reforms, followed immediately by economic reforms. [passage omitted]

The current crisis in Lithuania does not mean that the people there do not support the policy of perestroyka.

They believe perestroyka will solve the national problems. Party reforms do not conflict with Lenin's theory; they only contradict Stalin's conduct. Everyone is aware of the country's economic situation—conservatives, liberals, and radicals alike. The Soviet economy is in such bad shape that there is no other hope to save it but for the people to cooperate in pushing for the reforms. In fact, Lenin's economic theory was correct, but experts under Stalin badly distorted it and the present situation is a result of that. [passage omitted]

(Dr Vladislalev) stressed that perestroyka will be successful if the people have political awareness. Politically-minded people will automatically support perestroyka, and they will become the power to move the nation ahead.

He affirmed that, although it might have to undergo several upheavals, the Soviet Union will not experience the drastic changes seen in East Europe in this decade.

From what (Dr Vladislalev) said, we can assume that the situation in the Soviet Union is quite confusing, especially in the Baltic region— a real burden for the Soviet leadership.

Perestroyka remains the guideline for reforms in the Soviet Union aimed at achieving political democracy and economic freedom as in the Western countries.

Ever since the Stalin epoch, the Soviet Union has been ruled by tyranny and dictatorship. This has brought the country enormous losses.

All human beings want freedom, independence, and well-being. No matter what kind of government they are under, people are ready to struggle for what they aspire for. This political truth should be a point to ponder for all of us.

Near East & South Asia

Commentary Views Iranian Reaction to Azerbaijan

NC2301103890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Sergey Salgirov commentary]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree declaring a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Baku, and some other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia has been (?welcomed) by the Soviet people. Extremists and separatists should not be allowed to trample on the law and commit crimes. They should not be allowed to scatter seeds of hardship and misfortune on Soviet soil. No one has the right to capitalize on the religious and nationalistic sensitivities of people, and to encourage them to commit acts of blind folly.

Naturally, the catastrophic events in the Transcaucasus are cause for anxiety and apprehension outside the Soviet Union as well as inside it. In neighboring Iran, where a considerable number of Azerbaijanis and Armenians live, there is immense interest in these events. Iran's reaction is by and large constructive and sensible, but one should not overlook the efforts of some fundamentalist circles. These circles seek to capitalize on the incidents in the Soviet Caucasus to resuscitate a policy of exporting the Islamic revolution.

In order to attain their objectives, the fundamentalists mostly exploit two aspects: first, the fact that most of the Azerbaijanis living in Iran and the Soviet Union are followers of Shiite Islam, and second, the complicated history of Tsarist Russia's relations with Iran and the regimes of Stalin and the Shah. On this basis, the fundamentalists interpret the disastrous incidents in the Soviet Transcaucasus as the result of (?discrimination) against Soviet Muslims, who are allegedly inspired by Iran's Islamic revolution.

It appears that they are attempting to portray the Soviet Transcaucasus as another Lebanon. In their opinion, conditions in the Soviet Transcaucasus are conducive to Iranian interference under the cover of Islamic slogans. Incidentally, it may be said that most of the Western publications which were overtly displeased with the progress and consolidation of the neighborly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union disseminate propaganda to this effect.

However, even if we accept that religious factors are behind the calamitous occurences in the Transcaucasus, we still cannot understand why such phenomena should occur in today's era of restructuring. The Iranian newspapers write that the Soviet Government is [words indistinct] to religion. It is in this era that mosques and theological schools have been opened and religious texts are being distributed in the Muslim-inhabited areas of the Soviet Union, including the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. In addition, it is at this very time that the work of reviving Islamic culture and [words indistinct] is being carried out more than ever before. It is in this age of restructuring that the necessary conditions have been created for free contacts between Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and people of other nationalities on both sides of the Soviet-Iranian border. In what way are Muslims being discriminated against or (?restricted)

Of course, the issue is not one of discrimination. The issue is that certain separatist and nationalistic elements and proponents of an unlawful economy in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's are endeavoring to capitalize on the democratic atmosphere to inflict harm on the restructuring trend and thus retain privileges and satisfy their high-flown ambitions. Obviously they have no qualms in fanning religious discord, as it serves their purpose in attaining their selfish material and political ends.

Naturally, the use of religion to achieve such goals does not serve the interests of the people of the Soviet Transcaucasus or the Iranians thenmselves. Did not such a policy result in prolonging the bloody and destructive

Iran-Iraq war and in creating tension in Iranian's relations with Turkey, the Arab world, and Afghanistan? Do the Iranians stand to benefit any less than the Soviet people of the Transcaucasus if relations between the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians are improved in their own country? [as heard].

I hope that Iran's anxiety over the eruption of violence in the Transcaucasus is (?fraught) with [word indistinct] for its own (?interests). What is important is that it should refrain from giving a destructive (?turn) to the situation.

UN Human Rights Delegation To Visit Iran

NC2101140990 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] Dear listeners, a UN delegation on human rights in Iran is to begin it work on 20 January [as heard]. The delegation is headed by UN expert Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, who is monitoring the situation in Iran.

Last November, Kamal Kharrazi, Iran's representative to the United Nations, sent a letter to the UN Human Rights Commission inviting UN experts to visit Tehran. Observers considered this an unexpected move.

As you know, Iran has been criticized in UN reports on human rights for the past 5 years. Iran's relations with Committee Number Three [as heard] of the world forum were extremely tense, and the committee's members were not invited to visit the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Now, however, things have changed. The new Iranian Government decided to have UN expert Reynaldo Galindo Pohl visit Tehran so that, as stated in Kamal Kharrazi's letter, Galindo Pohl can assess the reality of human rights in Iran and not be guided by empty allegations.

Iran's officials are creating a favorable atmosphere for this visit. A few days ago, the TEHRAN TIMES and IRNA welcomed the visit by the UN human rights delegation to Iran, stating that it will help prove the baselessness of the propaganda by the Western mass media and the enemies of the Islamic Revolution.

Some Iranian opposition groups, including the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization, submitted a report on human rights violations in Iran to Reynaldo Galindo Pohl which gave the names of several thousand Iranian political prisoners. Amnesty International simultaneously released a report on the mass executions of political opponents of the regime.

The Iranian leadership has decisively rejected such charges. Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, Iran's religious leader, stated that Amnesty International is a weapon in the hand of world [word indistinct]. He said that this organization's objective is to exert pressure on the nations of the world to dampen their interest in the Islamic revolution.

Dear listeners, the UN delegation's visit may help clarify the current state of human rights in Iran and investigate the disturbing reports published in the world's media.

Reports indicate that Reynaldo Galindo Pohl will bring his interpreter to Iran and will be able to travel around Iran freely and meet and talk with any Iranian citizen. The Iranian Government has also guaranteed to the world forum that the UN delegation will have the right to inspect prisons and meet with prisoners. The Iranian officials have also undertaken not to persecute (?people) who give evidence to Reynaldo Galindo Pohl.

Apparently the Iranian Government wants to give a crushing answer to its opponents on the international scene and to take away their propaganda initiative. Meanwhile, the UN delegation's return from Iran may reveal facts about the arrest of people on political grounds, as reported by the Western media.

Possible U.S. Policy Shift on Afghanistan Cited

PM2201103990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Observer's Column": "Possible Shift?"]

[Text] Some frankly unexpected, but, nevertheless, long-awaited news has come from the U.S. capital. Citing senior Bush administration aides, THE WASHINGTON TIMES reported that the White House has embarked on a review of its policy on Afghanistan. For what reason? The opposition's inability to achieve significant successes in military actions and also the escalation of armed conflicts between rival rebel groupings. The paper writes as follows: "Since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the mujahidin have failed to capture a single major city or achieve any other impressive military success, contrary to Washington's expectations. Moreover, the situation is complicated by the fact that the rebels are increasingly fighting among themselves, and more and more fiercely too, suffering appreciable losses in the battles." The U.S. Administration is also unhappy with the fact that the "transitional government of mujahidin" set up by the rebels is refusing to include field commanders and representatives of Shi'ite groupings in its number.

What steps does Washington intend to take, then? Last fall U.S. representatives embarked on talks with King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan, who is in exile, discussing his potential role in the country's future. But now, according to THE WASHINGTON TIMES, the Bush administration is considering involving the United Nations in a political settlement in Southwest Asia (which, incidentally, has hitherto been impossible because of Washington's intractable position on this question) and has even

returned to the proposals it has previously rejected on a U.S.-Soviet moratorium on weapon supplies for the warring sides in Afghanistan. Although, of course, it is hard to imagine that certain U.S. circles will easily accept such a moratorium, in view of the fact that the United States is supplying the mujahidin with weapons worth at least $600 million per year, but nevertheless....

No doubt the analysis of U.S. policy in the region will continue when U.S. Under Secretary of State R. Kimmitt returns from his trip to Pakistan, where he is accompanied by U.S. special envoy to the "transitional government" P. Tomsen [name as transliterated]. The Washington emissary is meeting both with the Pakistani leaders and with representatives of the Afghan armed opposition. It is believed that the outcome of R. Kimmitt's consultations will determine to a considerable extent the future course of the debate in the U.S. Government on the Afghan problem.

So the review of Washington's Afghan policy has started, judging by reports from the U.S. capital. But, as a senior Bush administration aide said in conversation with correspondents from THE WASHINGTON TIMES, there is no question at the moment of any immediate "revolutionary changes" in the U.S. stance. By studying new proposals, he continued, the administration is only trying to adapt its course to the altered situation in Afghanistan.

But at the moment there has not even been an outward change in the position of U.S. officials. Washington is still hostile toward the Najibullah regime in Afghanistan. Expressing "regret" in connection with France's decision to reopen its embassy in Kabul, the State Department said that the United States does not intend to follow this example.

But in the light of recent reports, there is hope of a shift in the U.S. position on Afghanistan, that it could become more realistic. And a shift is very necessary. Because, as Afghan President Najibullah said in an interview in the Turkish paper TERCUMAN, the main reason for the continuing war in the country is foreign interference, above all by Pakistan and the United States. "Despite the great damage the country's national economy is suffering as a result of the war, we have stood our ground both militarily and economically," Najibullah said. Ending outside interference will help end the bloodshed and hasten the achievement of peace in Afghanistan.

Afghan Defector's Claims About Aid Denied

PM2301114390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by APN and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA own correspondent A. Pravov: "Who Benefits From a Distortion of the Facts. Concerning an Item Published in the Pakistani Paper DAWN"]

[Excerpt] Kabul—Last July, at a busy junction in Kabul, near the "Spinzar" [name as transliterated] Hotel, I had an interesting conversation with a young man who refused to give his name. He approached my car, which was standing outside the BAKHTAR agency, and asked me in English where I was from.

"From the Soviet Union," I replied.

"So you are a Soviet adviser," he concluded immediately.

"No, I am a journalist."

"I do not believe you. There are no Soviet journalists left in Afghanistan. There are only advisers, who are fighting against the opposition."

We talked for rather a long time, but I do not think I managed to convince him, despite all my efforts. He went away, sticking to his opinion. I remembered my July meeting when I read a small item in the Pakistani paper DAWN, or, rather, an account of a press conference in Islamabad. It had been conducted by Doctor Azizulla Sadat [name as transliterated], former Afghan deputy minister of higher and specialized education. According to reports, he has now joined the so-called Afghan provisional government.

The former deputy minister, who, according to information I obtained at the Afghan Foreign Ministry press center, fled to Pakistan some months ago, fearing persecution for his links with agents of Hekmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," claimed that the USSR is continuing "its colonial policy in Afghanistan, only in new ways." There were data on fantastic amounts of military aid from Moscow to the Kabul regime, on the presence of hundreds of military advisers from the USSR in Afghanistan, and even on Soviet servicemen—Turkmenians, Uzbeks, and Tajiks—fighting with government forces in northern parts of the country and wearing Afghan military uniforms.

Apparently, the text of the press conference, translated into Dari and Pashto, was retransmitted in early January to the Afghan audience by Pakistani radio stations and VOA. Perhaps my July interlocutor had heard the broadcast. At any rate, it would be interesting to meet with him again and find out whether he believed this information.

I hope he no longer believes it. Too much water has flowed under the bridge in Kabul since our conversation, and too many facts have been cited in Afghan papers exposing these false rumors.

First of all, Soviet aid. It is probably right to talk first about the large consignments of food and fuel which arrive daily in Kabul on Aeroflot aircraft. Incidentally, the aid question was discussed recently at a sitting of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which reemphasized the need to continue it.

Certainly, Moscow is also giving Kabul military aid, but this is in line with bilateral commitments and treaties. This is aid to a UN member state.

Now a few words about Soviet advisers, who are allegedly devising military operations and directly participating in them. There is, it is true, a large number of Soviet technical experts in Kabul. But this does not contradict the Geneva agreements. They are working there in accordance with interstate treaties, as was the case decades ago under other Afghan regimes. It is a deliberate distortion of the facts to talk about the presence in the country's armed forces of Soviet servicemen dressed in Afghan military uniforms. [passage omitted]

Afghan Vice President Leads Delegation to USSR

LD2201162890 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1530 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Vice President Abdul Hamid Mohtat, heading a high-ranking delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, left this morning for the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in order to participate in the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Week.

Vice President Abdul Rahim Hatef saw the delegation off.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Begins Kabul Talks

Arrives 22 Jan

LD2201131490 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 22 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Alexander Mokanu, deputy chairman of the parliament's Council of the Union and member of the Central Auditing Commission of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), arrived in the Afghan capital today on an official visit.

At Kabul International Airport the delegation was met by Saleh Mohammad Zeray, deputy chairman of the Wolasi Jerga, the lower house of the National Council of Afghanistan, Shah Ali Akbar Shahrestani, vice-president of the Afghan Parliament, and other officials. Among the welcoming party was Boris Pastukhov, Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan.

This visit renews contacts between the parliaments of the two countries, the leader of the Soviet delegation told TASS.

"We have arrived here to get acquainted with the country's life, speak about the course of perestroya in the Soviet Union and exchange views with our friends in Kabul about possible ways to solve the Afghan problem.

"On the delegation are several USSR people's deputies—former servicemen. It is significant that the visit is taking place on the eve of an important date—the first anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan," Mokanu said.

This afternoon the Soviet parliamentary delegation laid flowers at a cemetery and at a monument to Soviet servicemen.

Delegation Head Interviewed

LD2201190790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Video report by correspondent A. Shkirando from Kabul on 22 January; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Video shows Shkirando interviewing A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet at Kabul Airport]

[Shkirando] Your delegation is the first Soviet parliamentary delegation which has arrived in Kabul in recent years. In this connection, could you say what the aims of your visit are?

[Mokanu] Well, generally, you are right to say in recent years, but in essence, we are restoring contacts between our parliaments because you remember that previously there were several delegations of ours. It's true that this was a long time ago. And so, after such an interval, we are the first such parliamentary delegation—in order to restore good, stable relations with the parliament of Afghanistan.

[Shkirando] Familiar faces of former internationalist servicemen....

[Mokanu, interrupting] Yes, in the first place, it is a big delegation, ten people. But among the members of the delegation, the majority is made up of former internationalist servicemen who have already been in Afghanistan. But they, too, in their turn want to speak about how the people trusted them to be members of the Soviet parliament, how they work, and what work they themselves are doing in parliament.

[Shkirando] This morning, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation laid wreaths at the cemetary of those who fell for the revolution, and also paid tribute to the memory of the Soviet internationalist servicemen who died on Afghan soil. [video shows wreath-laying ceremony]

The officials talks with the parliamentary leadership of the republic of Afghanistan also started today. [video shows talks between the two delegations]

Syrian Official on Soviet Relations, Rumors

LD2101100990 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The work of the international conference on the environment and development ended in Moscow. Scientists, public figures, doctors, economic experts, representatives of international organizations, and parliamentarians from many countries took part in the conference.

Our correspondent Nikolay Gelikov interviewed 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, head of the Syrian delegation to the conference and president of the Syrian People's Assembly. [passage omitted] Qaddurah on the importance of the conference and Syrian participation in it]

[Gelikov] We know that apart from the Syrian delegation's participation in the conference, you and members of your delegation had many meetings with representatives of the Soviet leadership, especially with Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Nationalities Committee, and others. Would you tell our listeners about these meetings?

[Qaddurah] First of all, these meetings, which were held at the periphery of the conference, were useful and good for a main reason: We came to the Soviet Union to participate in the conference and we did not come on an official visit. In other words, there is no Soviet Government program for the delegation's visit. Considering there were more than 80 delegations and 1,200 delegates, the meetings made possible for the Syrian delegation are a clear sign of the depth of the friendly relations between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Soviet Union; a friendship which was crowned with the Friendship and Cooperation agreement signed here in Moscow toward the end of 1980. [passage omitted]

I met with Comrade Nishanov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. Our talks focusd on Syrian Arab-Soviet relations and on a host of issues concerned with political, regional and international, and all aspects of cooperation with the Syrian Arab Republic. [passage omitted] Comrade Nishanov told me that Comrade Gorbachev was aware of our meeting, and had requested that greetings be extended to Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, whom we regard as a prominent patriotic personality in the Middle East who is pursuing a successful and dynamic policy regarding the Arab people in Syria and the Arab people in general. We could say that any successful policy in the Middle East in which Syria, and Comrade Hafiz al-Asad in particular, does not play a dynamic role, would be a policy that would not reach the desired peace in the region.

[Gelikov] Mr Qaddurah, there are some claims and rumors in some Arab and international newspapers that Soviet-Syrian relations are on the decline. How would you interpret these rumors?

[Qaddurah] First, what you said is true; these are rumors. Second, and more important, Syrian-Soviet relations are built on scientific and objective basis and have a history of practice. They are, and will in the future be, subject to a host of attacks and tendentious rumors because these relations, built on mutual benefit and respect, are not welcomed by the forces which do not want anything good for the region's peoples. [passage omitted]

[Gelikov] You may be aware that some people's deputies in the Soviet Union are proposing a reduction in aid to developing countries. Let us suppose that in the future it will be decided to reduce aid to developing countries including Syria, for example, [reducing] the supply of Soviet weapons to Syria. How would relations between the Soviet Union and Syria develop?

[Qaddurah] Members of the People's Assembly [as heard] have the right to propose whatever they want. This is one of the principles of democracy; Syrian-Soviet relations are not built on this kind of hypothesis. Syrian-Soviet relations are not built on financial aspects. Who helps whom? What is the amount of aid? Syrian-Soviet relations are built on a strategic basis related to something greater than the value of aid. [passage omitted]

Syrian Ba'th Officials Received at CPSU CC

PM2201134390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A meeting was held 18 January at the CPSU Central Committee [CC] International Department with a group of Syrian parliamentarians headed by 'A.Q. Qaddurah, member of the Ba'th Party Regional Command and chairman of the Syrian People's Assembly, who are in Moscow to attend the "Global Forum on the Environment and Development for Purposes of Survival." An exchange of opinions took place in a friendly atmosphere on certain international problems, questions of Soviet-Syrian relations, and CPSU-Ba'th Party ties.

India's Gujral on Relations' 'Wonderful Future'

LD2301094490 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] New Delhi January 23 TASS—The Indian Government firmly desires to consolidate its friendship with the Soviet Union, India's Minister for External Affairs Inder Kumar Gujral said at a meeting with visiting TASS General Director Leonid Kravchenko here.

Gujral sid that "India's cooperation with the USSR now encompasses broad areas and has a wonderul future".

When we mark national holidays—we are about to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Republic—we traditionally reaffirm our allegiance of friendship with countries, the relations which have stood the test of time, Gurjal said.

"I should like to underscore that although Indian Governments may change, our relations with the USSR will continue to develop, as before, perhaps even more actively. We shall always highly appreciate the Indian-Soviet friendship, which is deep-rooted and has a firm foundation," Gujral said.

"Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives in the international arena are highly praised in India," he stressed.

"Before I joined this government I repeatedly said and wrote that I consider Gorbachev a remarkabable personality. In my opinion, no other leader in this century has displayed so much persistence, firmness and wisdom in pursuing aims. Alone he was almost able to comprehensively change the image of the world."

Touching upon socio-political changes in the USSR, Gujral, once India's ambassador to the Soviet Union, noted the great significance of current efforts to deepen public openness, and what has already been achieved in that sphere.

"We fully realise that Soviet people are encountering many difficulties in perestroyka, and this is clear if one takes into account the dimensions and the depth of transformations," he said.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Official Views Cooperation With Angola

LD2001072190 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Studio interview with (Nikolay Kraynov), secretary of the Soviet side of the Mixed Intergovernmental Soviet-Angolan Commission on Economic, Technical, Scientific, and Commercial Cooperation, by unidentified moderator; (Kraynov) speaks in Russian with superimposed Portuguese translation; date not given]

[Excerpts] In a past program, we reported on Soviet-Nigerian cooperation, especially in the construction of the great metallurgical complex in Ajaokuta. As for Angola, many Soviet people regard it first and foremost as a frontline state. However, there are hundreds of Soviet civilian specialists working in Angola, and therefore we wanted to hear a general outline of our cooperation from a person directly involved in such questions. Out guest is (Nikolay Kraynov), secretary for the Soviet side of the Mixed Intergovernmental Soviet-Angolan Commission on Economic, Technical, Scientific, and Commercial Cooperation. [passage omitted; Kraynov says cooperation has been influenced, and in economic and trade matters hindered, by the political and military circumstances.]

[Moderator] Can you tell us specifically what the Soviet specialists are doing in Angola?

[(Kraynov)] Going into specifics, we should mention first of all the setting up of centers for the training of national cadres, the construction of oil complexes, the rendering of assistance in the health, housing, energy and many other spheres of the Angolan economy.

[Moderator] When you speak of assistance, do you mean free aid?

[(Kraynov)] With regard to technical assistance, we render Angola free aid. Moreover, advantageous commercial lines of credit were granted, and Soviet experts sent over. Despite the most advantageous credit terms, when repayment was due, the Soviet side, at the Angolan side's request, deferred the amortization of the loans. So the USSR has been rendering economic assistance to Angola on the most advantageous terms.

[Moderator] In connection with the Ajaokuta complex, I remember that our correspondent took issue with some of his colleagues in the Soviet press who say that economic cooperation with Africa is like a one-way street: All benefits to the Africans, none to the Soviets. Incidentally, many people share this view, including many Soviet parliamentarians. However, as is known, economic relations should be based on mutual benefit. From this standpoint, how do you envisage our future relations with Angola?

[(Kraynov)] [Passage omitted recalling decisisons of the June/July 1989 meeting of the Mixed Commission, when some 20 projects were dropped to focus efforts on mutually beneficial endeavors].

[Moderator] Now that we have entered a new phase of cooperation, it is opportune to remind our listeners that this new stage would not have come about without the all-round internationalist assistance rendered by our country to Angola in the more difficult years of the creation of people's power.

[(Kraynov)] I believe that from 1975 to the present day, it has only been thanks to the help rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries that Angola has managed to survive and withstand all difficulties. [passage omitted: training of cadres given as an example]

[Moderator] It is known that even now, the situation is complex with regard to qualified cadres, and that the problem cannot be resolved solely with the help of the Soviet specialists currently in Angola. Would the setting up of mixed enterprises not provide a solution?

[(Kraynov)] Mixed enterprises undoubtedly point in a promising direction. But before they are created, studies must be carried out. Mixed enterprises must first and foremost make a profit. [repetitive passage omitted] In the fisheries sphere, for example, we have agreed to form a mixed enterprise. At first there were a lot of doubts, but technical and economic studies were carried out that showed the viability and advisability of creating such an enterprise. I believe it will come into operation still in the course of this year. [passage omitted]

We have also signed a protocol and a statement of intent in the sphere of diamond and quartz mining. A group of Angolan specialists led by the director-general of the Endiama company visited the region of Yakut and acquainted themselves with the local diamond mining technology. The Angolan specialists spoke highly of our advanced technology. In February/March, a Soviet delegation led by the director general of (Yakutalmazh) will go to Angola for talks on setting up a mixed enterprise. The technical and economic studies have already been

made and it is not being ruled out that the matter may be settled during their stay in Angola.

[Moderator] We shall probably be faced with strong competition there, since there are other countries already mining for precious minerals, and the Soviet side will have to offer Angola better terms.

[(Kraynov)] Competition has always existed and will continue to exist. But considering the experience of the Soviet technicians, the technology and methods of work—carried out in the difficult conditions presented by the permafrost—I believe that they will put up a worthy fight.

[Moderator] And what is Angola's role in our relations with Africa?

[(Kraynov)] I would not like to define league tables or priorities, but Angola has always occupied an honorable place in our cooperation. Hence our long-term cooperation program, up to the year 2000, in many sectors of the economy.

Relations with Angola have always been the friendliest possible. As far as cooperation prospects are concerned, I am very optimistic. Angola is rich in mineral resources. I believe that mutually advantageous cooperation may prove stable and lasting. The Angolans are a hard-working and open people, easy to work with. [passage omitted: He likes Angola from his days there as UN adviser for industrial development. He wishes the Angolans peace and prosperity.]

Commentary Discusses ANC Leadership Issue

MB1901190790 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Aleksandr Fedorov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] [Words indistinct] and coalition advocates. What conclusion can the black and white citizen come to on hearing such revelations? The only conclusion they can draw is that at a turning point in the country's history, the most authoritative liberation organization is going through crisis, both in its leadership and in tactics, to reach its objectives.

This seems to be wishful thinking, though judging by the voluminous writers' dispatches from Cape Town, there are reasons for rumors. [Words indistinct] the one that the son of Mr Mandela's friend and former fellow prisoner, Govan Mbeki, expects to hold the post of ANC [African National Congress] chairman.

[Word indistinct] quotes well-informed antiracist movement representatives based in South Africa as admitting that there are signs of opposition in the ANC to the proposal to give the reins of power to Nelson Mandela. In their opinion, this opposition, including the ANC armed wing commander, Chris Hani, will come out against Mandela and Mbeki and charge them of pursuing too moderate a policy.

We'll leave the conclusions made by the radio correspondent on many South African movements (?to) their conscience. But one thing is clear: The ANC, which marked its 78th anniversary, has gone through a thorny patch, as complex as the situation in South Africa itself. But unlike other parties and movements, it has never betrayed the main interests the black people and their white backers have been fighting for.

How many times the authorities have tried to crush the ANC and direct it towards a proapartheid path. These attacks have been continued although times have changed.

President de Klerk has declared (?the view) that the ANC can join in the process of negotiations on a new South African constitution that will give full and fair rights to the peoples of South Africa. It is also known that there are opponents to the dialogue, but only among the Conservative Party and right- wing extremists' organizations.

Senior representatives of the ruling National Party also repeat Pieter Botha's argument: As long as the ANC fights on, it must be outlawed. Perhaps yielding to pressure, Mr de Klerk is forced to repeat this, too. How, then, in such a situation should the ANC react to the fact that there still are armed units in the African townships, that the state of emergency is still in force in the country, and that meetings are allowed far too seldom?

It seems that talks of stopping the armed struggle (?are) possible only through mutual concessions. This is my opinion, Aleksandr Fedorov notes. All the more logical, then, that ANC (?front rankers) and rank-and-file members are expressing their views. They may differ on separate issues but share the view that a peaceful solution to the constitutional problem would be in the interests of all who live in South Africa.

To hope that Mr Mandela's release will give a respite, that the ANC will be divided, that the government's gesture will contribute to the British prime minister's visit to South Africa—the first one in the last 30 years—is to be short-sighted, to say the least.

East Europe

CSSR Demonstration Marks Student's Suicide

PM2301113590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Major P. Khoroshko: "Czechoslovakia: Demonstration in Prague"]

[Text] On the 21st anniversary (16 January) of the tragic death of Jan Palach, the Prague student who committed suicide by setting fire to himself in 1969 as a political protest, several thousand people attended a demonstration in Prague, in the square that bears his name, in order to honor the memory of their compatriot and express support for the democratic changes taking place

in Czechoslovakia. Students, schoolchildren, and members of political groupings and public organizations participated in the demonstration.

Czechoslovak President V. Havel turned up at the demonstration and urged the people to actively participate in the transformations that are taking place, to defend freedom and democracy, and to help make Czechoslovakia a flourishing country.

CSSR Streets Renamed, Security Staffers Ousted

PM2301112190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Features Are Changing..."]

[Text] Prague, 18 Jan—Every day brings reports of changes in Czechoslovak political and public life. The names of streets, squares, and subway stations are changing. Thus it is planned to rename Lenin subway station in the Czechoslovak capital as Dejvice and Great October Socialist Revolution Square as Victory Square. It is planned to give Kirov Street and Klement Gottwald and 1 May Bridges new names.

It is not only the outward signs of the former regime that are being removed but also some structures of power like, for instance, the state security investigative administrations. All departments tackling problems relating to the church and antisocialist groupings, fulfilling the tasks of providing information about the situation among young people, in science, education, culture, and the mass media, and keeping foreign subversive centers and emigre groupings under surveillance are being eliminated in the center and at local level. As of 16 January all state security staffers have been relieved of leadership posts in the capital and provinces.

According to statements issued by its spokesmen, the new government is faced not only with the task of smashing the old structures but also of building a new state. When speaking to journalists, new ministers try to outline some of the features of the new Czechoslovakia.

Our aim is to create a law-governed state that will legislatively enshrine all man's civil rights and guarantee their observance, CSSR Justice Minister D. Buresova stressed at a Prague news conference. The task of law and order must be to defend human rights and civil liberties against possible illegal actions on the part of the state. Independent courts must guarantee this which will require changes in the country's judicial system.

In the last few weeks the situation in the mass media sphere has also changed. Some 25 new publications have appeared. They include so-called "independent" publications, which want to resume the traditions of previous newspapers and journals. At the same time publication of five journals published by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has ceased. A new press law is being elaborated.

The council of consultants set up at the Chancellery of the Czechoslovak president is also one of the new features of sociopolitical activity.

Corruption Among GDR Military Leaders Exposed

PM1901163190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "GDR: New Cases Brought to Light"]

[Text] Berlin, 17 Jan—The ever-increasing number of cases of corruption and abuse of office by representatives of the former party and state leadership of the republic are an indicator of the depth of the political crisis in the GDR. As emerges from the publication in VOLKSARMEE of the results of an investigation carried out by a commission verifying cases of abuse of office and personal enrichment in the National People's Army, these processes also affected the leadership of the GDR National People's Army.

The cost of buildings erected in a hunting area along with a special helipad, the publication writes, cost more than M39 million. Private foreign trips made by former National Defense Minister H. Kessler and his deputies were covered up as official visits. For example, the Kessler family visited Cuba and Nicaragua at a cost to the state of more than M282,000 and more than 136,000 foreign currency marks.

In 1986 Kessler started to build a private house, which cost more than M1.3 million: The projected cost came to M578,000, with another M800,000 for the cost of rebuilding in accordance with the owner's wishes. A two-family dwelling belonging to Deputy National Defense Ministers W. Reinhold and F. Streletz which had a projected cost of M1.3 million cost the exchequer M2.2 million—that is just the cost of alterations at the owners' wishes.

Silayev Heads USSR-GDR Cooperation Talks

LD2201195990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jan (TASS)—Questions of cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in conditions of economic reform in both countries are at the center of attention at the 43th session of the joint governmental commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR, which opened today in Berlin. The participants in the session are discussing the tasks and directions of the commission in the new conditions, questions of coordinating the two countries' plans for the period 1991-1995, and of deepening economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the GDR.

The signing of new agreements and protocols to existing agreements is envisaged.

Both parts of the commission are headed, respectively, by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council

of Ministers, and Karl Grunheid, chairman of the Economic Committee of the GDR Council of Ministers. Also participating in the session are general directors of industrial complexes and managers of major enterprises. The session will last 3 days.

Upcoming PZPR Congress May Dissolve Party

PM1901121790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 1

[Own correspondent V. Shutkevich dispatch: "Radio Intercept"]

[Text] Warsaw—The BBC has informed its listeners that the Polish Communists have decided to disband their party. The final document of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee plenum points out that the upcoming congress will reject the principles of democratic centralism and dictatorship of the proletariat and will adopt the principle of free elections. The draft declaration expresses the idea that communist government was a complete catastrophe from the very beginning.

It was noted that at the present time this outburst of activeness will in all probability not be enough to stop the downfall of communism in Poland.

The party's time has practically run out. Now they are just finishing off—this reaction could be heard in the lobbies during the PZPR Central Committee plenum held recently in Warsaw. In all probability, the last plenum in the 42-year history of the PZPR. The 11th PZPR Congress, which will adopt the decision on suspending its activity, will open 27 January. Immediately afterward, its delegates will take part in the work of the constituent congress of a new party of Polish left-wing forces, which does not yet have a name. Among the options proposed were the Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Social Democratic Party. As M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, noted in his speech at the plenum, the new party will differ from its predecessor not just in appearance but primarily it its program, its new organizational structures, and its close relationship with the working people. On an ideological level it will be heir to the tradition of Polish socialist thought. It is noteworthy that there is not a single mention of Marxist-Leninist doctrine in the extensive excerpt from M. Rakowski's speech published in TRYBUNA LUDU. A number of other plenum speeches noted that the new party's most important task will be rapprochement with all the country's democratic forces, including the left wing of "Solidarity."

PRAVDA on Choices Facing PZPR Congress

PM2201143190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "Facing a Choice: PZPR on Eve of 11th Congress"]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan—Journalists have become increasingly frequent visitors to the spacious hall on the fifth floor of the Polish URited Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee building. Those journalists, including foreign correspondents, are also invited to Central Committee plenums. Recently the 17th plenary session of the Central Committee was held, a meeting which should be considered a special one because it is literally the penultimate one, since the 11th PZPR Congress is going to begin 27 January. The plenum approved the party forum's agenda, discussed its draft program declaration, and resolved other questions.

Much has become clear now although, of course, the congress itself will clarify many more things. For example, point five of the congress agenda clearly involves a discussion on terminating the PZPR's activity in connection with the creation of a new Polish left-wing party. Thus, as party leaders themselves predicted long ago, this will simultaneously be the last congress of the present party and, as the plenum said, the first congress of the new party.

Just as profound changes in the country's life and a devastating crisis in the economy can be observed, so internal contradictions appeared long ago within the PZPR and subsequently became extremely acute. Henceforth Poland is the Polish Republic, with the word "People's" deleted from its title (as the country's parliament decided recently); by decision of the supreme organ of power, the country's coat of arms is a white eagle with a crown on a red field.

Since new year the country has been holding its breath anxiously, there is no other word for it: The practical implementation has begun of what is called here the extreme austerity program of L. Balcerowicz—deputy premier and finance minister in the present government—to resolve the crisis in the shortest possible time, perhaps 1 year, which calls for a fantastic rise in prices and is based on incredibly great restrictions on people's living requirements. But that isn't all.

Behind the scenes at recent sessions of the Sejm a catchphrase not devoid of objective meaning rapidly caught on—the "end of the era of real socialism" in the Polish economy and the beginning of the "post-socialist era." The following comment was expressed: "On 2 January we shall wake up in a different country." This was the first workday of the new year.

These opinions were voiced immediately after Balcerowicz had proclaimed the main principles of the development of the Polish economy on the basis of the free market and after the speech by W. Baka, chairman of the Polish National Bank, who characterized monetary policy in the year ahead and ways to normalize finance and credit relations while at the same time increasing the foreign debt from $39.6 billion to $43.2 billion.

The new principles of economic development and the very atmosphere in the state undoubtedly now determine the pulse of the PZPR's life too and the content of the discussions within its ranks at all levels. First and foremost, the party has undoubtedly democratized itself. The

first direct elections of delegates to the congress were held recently. In all, 1,474 delegates were elected from a total of 4,060 nominees. Account was taken of the representation at the congress not only of all social strata of party members but also of the currents which appeared long ago within the PZPR with programs distinct from the common platform of the left-wing forces.

The present discussions, particularly those on questions relating to the future look of the party and the fate of the communist movement as a whole have not been free of problems nor even of an acute confrontation of views. Addressing the plenum, L. Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, drew the audience's attention to the fact that, judging from the results of the elections of congress delegates, this is going to be a congress of young and middle-aged party members. What ideas and intentions will those people take to the party forum?

The speaker highlighted at least three predominant opinions on the future of this political organization, which now has 2 million members. Some would like to leave the PZPR effectively in its old form, merely democratizing and considerably rejuvenating the party, to renew its leading echelon, and to formulate a new action program in acordance with today's realities. Others see the key to the solution of the urgent problems in a more radical option: They say that it is necessary to disband the party entirely and create on its basis and on the foundation of all left-wing tendencies and forces a party which absorbs and encapsulates a host of different views, which declares positions which even contradict one another, and consequently which permits the existence of factions. Yet others are ready right now to divide the "wings" and factions that have emerged into independent parties.

What is the rationale behind all this? Judging by speeches from the plenum platform, preference is given to option two. The effect of the third option, according to members of the present Central Committee, would be the complete loss of the PZPR's old gains, the split of left-wing forces, and their inevitable further erosion in an environment of other vigorously competitive parties and alliances.

Many PZPR members are distressed and alarmed, it seems, at the discord in the party's leading echelon between the Central Committee apparatus and the PZPR Deputies' Club, a discord which is deepening as the 21st congress approaches. The polemic, often a quite unhealthy one with reciprocal accusations of wanting to "seize power" within the new-style party, has also spilled into the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU.

M. Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR Deputies' Club, advocates radical transformations in the party, asserting that it has now lost society's confidence and first and foremost the prestige of its leaders has declined. Hence the thesis that it is necessary to replace and reelect the leading echelon and make the most resolute cadre changes because the style of the party leaders' work developed over the decades. He calls the PZPR Deputies' Club part of a new party, the kind which ideally the left-wing forces need. Such frank assessments and emphasis which hit the ambitions of the present party apparatus workers have prompted countercharges that representatives of the club want to "take power" themselves.

I think it is no coincidence that during the daily discussions and debates among grassroots party organizations and at the latest plenum many of the speeches repeatedly expressed the idea that, come what may, it is necessary to preserve the unity of party ranks.

Two days before the plenum, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, met in Katowice with the voivodship party aktiv and local congress delegates. He stressed in particular in his speech to party members: "At the congress we must rise above personal ambitions and not waste time debating which of us is the best democrat. The split of the left-wing movement and the formation of factions is the road to self-destruction. Reason must triumph over emotions. The future party must be socialist." It is his belief that the main task of the day is to emerge from the congress as a single party.

What kind of party will the PZPR transform itself into, what ideological platform will the new, many thousand-strong formation adopt? That is a question of much concern to Poles because, although the PZPR has lost the role of ruling party, it played that role for 45 years and by no means all that it did during that period is criticized. The party has accumulated a wealth of experience in many spheres of social and political life and still possesses a most powerful potential in the form of people and cadres and is able to help the country stand on its feet and cure its economic and other ailments. Interest in the PZPR is now being shown in letters from citizens expressing sincere support at this difficult time as well as wishes and advice on how to restore the people's confidence in the party. All democratic forces in the country are closely watching the development of reforms within the PZPR, hoping for the best outcome.

But there are other opinions and wishes. On the eve of the plenum a TV commentator with open irony drew attention to the following: What is the point in this party holding any more plenums and meetings?! Wouldn't it be better to quietly split up and separate? However, there are many signs that the party doesn't consider itself a "forlorn hope," politically speaking. Acts of provocation were organized against the voivodship committee in Katowice—the party resolutely rebuffed the extremists in the press and persistently demanded that the prosecutor's office call the culprits to account. Someone demanded that a plant party committee leave the plant's site immediately—the PZPR leader speaking in the Sejm insisted on the earliest elaboration and adoption of a law regulating the activity of political organizations.

There are just a few days left before the congress. The detailed preparations are in the hands of a coordinating

group composed of delegates. The Central Committee decides few things now. If one were to take a formal approach, another plenum should be held a day before the congress. However, the only thing the Central Committee members would have to do there would be to say goodbye to one another. The party is effectively on the brink of disbanding itself. But the congress itself is still to come. And it is possible that January in Poland will end with the creation of a new political organization that is young and vital, as close as possible to the working people, faithful to socialist ideals, and with many hundreds of thousands of members.

Walesa Warns Shipyard Workers Against Striking

PM2201144790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Working Rather Than Protesting"]

[Text] L. Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" trade union, has warned against the spreading strike trend. He met Thursday with the collective at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia. If everyone strikes and protests, the "Solidarity" leader stated, then unrest, anarchy, and misunderstanding will only increase.

Dwelling on the progress of reform in Poland, L. Walesa called reform the only correct direction now. That is what people are always telling me, above all in the West, he stressed. I support the government and will continue to support it, all the more so as no other all-embracing economic program has been put forward. I wanted to take a different path: to fight inflation by taking from those who have most rather than from those who have nothing, by privatizing everything that can be sold, and by creating private firms. The government chose a different direction. I support it and will continue to support it until the "Solidarity" Congress.

Lukyanov Receives New Romanian Ambassador

LD2301125190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—The leadership of my country attaches great signficance to further developing traditional friendly, good neighborly, and alliance relations between the Soviet Union and Romania. This was stated by Vasile Sandru, the Romanian ambassador, as he handed over his credentials in the Kremlin today to Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He stressed that the foreign policy of the new Romania will serve to strengthen friendship and peace throughout the world and to engage the country fully in the process of building a united Europe and a common home for all the peoples of the continent and that all international obligations, and first and foremost those under the Warsaw Pact, wil be consistently fulfilled.

In receiving his credentials Anatoliy Lukyanov stressed that it was with satisfaction that the Soviet Union received the statement by the new Romanian leadership on its intention to observe its obligations under treaties and agreements, including on the issue of the inviolability of borders in Europe.

NSF Repeals Decrees on Death Penalty, RCP

PM2201135190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Decrees Repealed"]

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Jan—At a plenary sitting the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council has repealed the decrees it adopted under pressure from participants in a Victory Square rally 12 January on restoring the death penalty and outlawing the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. Silviu Brucan, member of the NSF Council Executive Bureau, said this today at a news conference.

Leading NSF Council representatives I. Iliescu, P. Roman, and D. Mazilu, who spoke at the sitting, S. Brucan stressed, said that the adoption of these decrees was a political mistake and an antidemocratic measure contravening the principles of the NSF, which is striving to create a democratic society where any parties, apart from fascist parties, can operate. Since both decrees have been repealed, the referendum announced for 28 January is pointless and will not take place.

At the same NSF Council sitting a legal decree was adopted to transfer all former RCP property to the state. S. Brucan, in particular, stressed that the dictator's family alone owned 21 luxurious palaces, 41 villas, and 20 holiday homes.

The sitting's participants examined the new draft election law on elections of Romania's parliament and president. Romania will be governed, S. Brucan underlined, on the basis of a democratic pluralist system, separation of the legislature, executive, and the judiciary, and election of all leaders, including the president, for one or a maximum of two terms. The draft law will be adopted after "roundtable" consultations with all political parties and nationwide debate.

In response to journalists' questions, S. Brucan noted that the specific date of the election will be determined in the course of talks with all parties. He did not rule out the possibility of international supervision of the coming elections. Returning to the question of the possible international consequences of outlawing the RCP, S. Brucan stressed that this step could have created difficulties for communist parties in neighboring countries. We must also take into consideration, he said, the fact that the CPSU, headed by M.S. Gorbachev, opened the way to transformations in Eastern Europe, including Romania.

Romania Introduces New Foreign Travel Rules

LD2201073990 Moscow TASS in English 0734 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest January 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vadim Malyutin:

Romanian revolution has opened its borders to foreign tourists, shattering the iron curtain built by deposed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu around its mountainous resorts and Black Sea beaches.

Now foreigners can freely move around the country and have contact with Romanians, according to new foreign travel rules.

Any one can obtain an entry visa in Romanian diplomatic and consular missions abroad or while crossing the Romanian border.

An earlier regulation obliging every foreign tourist to change an equivalent of ten U.S. dollars into local currency daily has been dropped. Customs regulations that used to ban foreigners from bringing in most personal items and presents have been changed. Foreign guests are also allowed to stay in any hotel and with private individuals.

Auto tourists are now guaranteed petrol at all petrol stations.

Tourists from socialist countries are allowed to bring in as much currency as it legal in their home states.

In an effort to boost the Romanian leu, the new rules allow foreigners to exchange unused money into foreign currencies and prohibit them from taking leus out of the country.

Prospects of E. European Communist Parties Viewed

LD2301094590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] ROMPRESS, the Romanian news agency, has put out a dispatch saying that the executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu killed 100,000 wild animals in the years of his career as a hunter. He loved being called the greatest hunter in the world. [passage omitted]

What does my colleague, the commentator Viktor Levin, think about this?

[Levin] By all appearances, the facts cited could give grounds for entering the name of Ceausescu the hunter in the *Guiness Book of Records*, but I doubt whether the compilers of that popular book, who publish everything which is "the most...," would consider the record genuine, for it is no secret to anybody that beaters work for grandee hunters or that the animals are quite often tied up. So, this achievement ought, rather, to be classified not under sport, but under corruption and degeneration, for Ceausescu's hunting grounds covered 1.3 million hectares, and it is not hard to imagine what all that cost the Romanian people. [passage omitted]

We are dealing, I repeat, with corruption, with the fact that the example of Ceausescu confirms once more than absolute power corrupts absolutely. But today I should like not just to recall this truth, but also to pay attention to what a painful—and not just painful, but tragic—effect the degeneration of leaders has on the parties which they head. Of course, I was in shock when I learned of the emotional decision to declare the Romanian Communist Party illegal and am glad that the National Salvation Front has renounced it. But you will agree, all the same, that those emotions arose, in the first place, as a reaction to Ceausescu's crimes.

Also, we can see, and not only in the Romanian example, how hard it is for honorable party members to clean themselves of the dirt, or even blood, with which the leaders have stained them. This is making itself known in any Eastern European country, and this, in my view, is what explains the crisis of the communist parties.

[Announcer] And how do you imagine their prospects?

[Levin] That's a difficult question, but I think that much, if not everything, depends on the capacity for a profound, principled assessment of the past and for resolute, constructive actions. It is very important, I feel, to have the ability to resort in time—it wasn't managed earlier, so it mustn't be allowed to be too late—to surgical operations as well, where necessary. I read reports from Romania, the GDR, and other countries and see, in one place or the other, old-style apparatchiks acting by the former methods and thus discrediting not only the past, but the present too.

A few days ago, for example, we heard of the destruction of documents of the security department of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee apparatus. These cases arouse the public's indignation, and they intensify the lack of confidence in the party's readiness for renewal. In such conditions, I believe, things might take an even sharper turn.

[Announcer] You are talking now of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism.

[Levin] Indeed, but it is probably even harder for people who are true to communist ideals in Romania. In order to have prospects, it is necessary to break completely with the conditions which open the way to totalitarianism. It is necessary to realize that the personal qualities of that same Ceausescu, although they aggravated the situation, were secondary by comparison with the system. It must be renounced, and renounced totally, without delay.

Reportage on LCY Extraordinary Congress

Opens 20 Jan

LD2001164190 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade January 20 TASS—"For democratic socialism in Yugoslavia" is the keynote of the 14th (Extraordinary) Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) that opened here on Saturday [20

January]. The congress is attended by more than 1,600 delegates who represent nearly two million members of the party.

Party chief Milan Pancevski delivered a report "The LCY and Social Reforms". The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, he said, is now at historical crossroads. The responsibility of the LCY and other socialist forces for the implementation of radical reform is great because "our model of social relations has objectively exhausted itself", he said.

Speaking about reforms in society and in the LCY, Pancevski noted that the economic efficiency of socialism in general and the Yugoslav economy in particular is an important condition for the country's further development. Equality and diversity of forms of propert, should become the law of social and economic life.

The 14th (Extraordinary) Congress is held at a time which can be described as profoundly revolutionary, crucial and historic. It is the time of definite end of one historical stage of development of socialism in Yugoslavia, the time of exacerbated social crisis and deep contradictions. It calls for abandoning everything that has become obsolete and boldly foster a new vision of social development. For the League of Communists of Yugoslavia the current congress marks a beginning of its radical transformation with the aim of effectively fighting for democratic socialism, for the better life of every man and society in general.

Speaking about Yugoslavia's attitude to changes in the internationl arena, Pancevski stressed that the current processes in the world bear the hallmark of major radical authoritarian relationships, boldly initiating social democratisation and opening up to the world, they will make a principled major contribution to the general process of democratisation and humanisation of international relations. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia fully supports all these processs and progressively-minded forces of socialist states.

Yugoslavia, Pancevski said, is interested in taking an active part in the activity of non-aligned countries as one of its founders and current president. It favours greater involvement of the Non-Aligned Movement in all urgent economic and political processes.

Tasks of Congress Viewed

PM2201164990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Fadeyev dispatch: "Great Hopes. The 14th (Emergency) Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Opens in Belgrade 20 January"]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan—Many events are occurring on the Yugoslav political scene. And yet the chief event, according to assessments in the local news media, is the 14th (Extraordinary) Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. The party has approached it with an all-embracing program of renewal without precedent in its history. In describing the life of the LCY and the party forum that is about to open, I will have to use the words "for the first time" repeatedly today.

I will begin with the fact that this is the first emergency congress in the 70-year history of the Yugoslav Communists' party. Although, at the same time, it is entrusted with duties which the LCY Statutes envision for a routine congress. A new party leadership has to be elected.

The congress is being convened under conditions when strong democratic processes are developing in certain party organizations of the republics under the sign of strengthening pluralism. Events occurring in neighboring countries are also having a definite impact. There will be no representatives of foreign parties or movements at the Yugoslav Communists' forum—which is also unusual. This decision was adopted with the sole aim of imparting an exclusively working nature to the congress.

Yes, the LCY is the leading force of Yugoslav society. But today the economic and political reforms under way in the country are no longer possible without changes in the League of Communists itself. It also has to be seen that serious disagreements exist in the party's top echelon over the further development of democracy and the switch to a market economy.

And again—for the first time the SFRY Federal Assembly has adopted an unprecedented decision: not to allocate the 4.5 billion dinars requested from the state budget for the holding of the LCY congress. And now the party forum has gotten sponsors—also a novelty!

What is the LCY's composition before the emergency congress? At the middle of last year—the newspaper BORBA has just published these data—the LCY numbered in its ranks 1,945,000 people—almost 42,000 fewer than a year previously. If you count from the 13th LCY Congress in June 1986, party membership has fallen by 232,000.

The Yugoslav press points to negative phenomena which have gripped the LCY recently. The falling number of representatives of the working class in it is worrying. This alarming trend was noted at the last Central Committee plenum. It emphasized that the absolutization of "one's own" opinions weakens party unity and leads to parochialism and growing nationalism. And this affects the structure and size of the party's ranks: Young people and Communists who think in a new, creative way are increasingly frequently leaving it.

The question of the prestige of party functionaries and their moral makeup is being raised more acutely than ever. Last year several well-known figures, including Bozko Krunic, former president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, were expelled from the LCY for failing to live up to the title of Communist.

According to BORBA's data, the average age of LCY members is 39 years. The "youngest" organization in the

league is the League of Communists of Kosovo, while the "elderly" party organizations are the Leagues of Communists of Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia, where young people make up just 15 percent. The largest party organization of the republics is in Serbia.

At the last LCY Central Committee Plenum, where the party's activity between congresses was discussed, it was also pointed out that the past years have been characterized by a noticeable worsening of the situation in all spheres of social life. And, in the final analysis, the League of Communists and its leadership bear responsibility for the situation in society. The Yugoslav Communists' party is going through difficult times today. In its editorial article the weekly KOMUNIST, organ of the LCY, raises such questions in particular: "Does the LCY want to leave the political scene forever? Does the LCY want to be one of the parties with equal rights in the SFRY's democratic system? Does the LCY want to break down into national parties which will set about saving their own skins?" What is needed to prevent this happening, the weekly believes, is a reform of the League of Communists and its unity.

The republic congresses and provincial conferences have shown how topical this way of formulating the question is. Unity in the LCY is a long way off today. The congresses clearly highlighted the distribution of forces: On the one hand, many people believe that it is necessary to preserve the party's leading role, while others call for the abandonment of the monopoly and the party's transformation into a democratic organization which would act alongside other forces on the political scene.

There are already quite a lot of informal movements and groups in the SFRY (particularly in Croatia and Slovenia). And it is evidently no coincidence that something happened at the congress of the League of Communists of Croatia that had never happened in the history of the Yugoslav party. A proposal was put forward to hold free elections in Croatia on the basis of a multiparty system.

Slovenia's Communists called for the creation of a coalition which would include other forces in addition to LCY members. A proposal was advanced at the republic congress to rename the LCY the Union of Leagues of Communists of Yugoslavia. What does this mean in practice? The party's further federalization?

These and other questions will undoubtedly arise at the emergency congress, and they will have to be resolved. As local commentators point out, it is not hard to assume that an exceptionally stormy debate is expected at the party forum.

Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has spoken of this. Addressing journalists recently, he pointed out that the party's new, recently adopted platform "For Democratic Socialism and Yugoslavia" expresses readiness to hold free elections with the participation of opposition forces as early as this April.

The LCY, he emphasized, is ready to confront other programs on a public stage and to struggle for its own principles in an atmosphere of pluralism. The LCY is convinced that its proposals are acceptable to the majority of citizens and that democratic socialism has good prospects. The time that our congress is being held is characterized not only by the intensifying problems of Yugoslav society but also by major changes in the world of socialism.

This obliges the LCY to advance a lucid and clear program at its congress. Our unity can be achieved only on the basis of this program, and so it is very important that it, as well as the party statutes, be carefully prepared. The key questions, to which the congress must give the answers, are as follows: What kind of socialism do we seek, and how are the planned reforms to be implemented? We are ready to undergo a historic test of our ability not only to survive in a pluralist society but also to be the driving force behind the SFRY's democratic development, S. Korosec declared in conclusion.

Yugoslavia's Communists voice confidence that the congress will come out decisively for the party's cardinal renewal and the unity of party ranks.

Yugoslavia's Problems Analyzed

PM2201152990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Bovin "Political Observer's Opinion": "At the Turning Point"]

[Text] The 14th (Emergency) League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress opened Saturday morning...

Arguments were still going on when I visited Belgrade last fall: How should the congress be designated—"scheduled," "extraordinary," or "emergency." The last description was adopted. The logic is indisputable. It is an emergency congress because the situation within the party and in the country amounts to an emergency. Political and economic structures, social institutions, and interethnic relations are affected by a prolonged and profound crisis.

I shall try to outline a few aspects of this crisis on the basis of my own impressions and of material from the Yugoslav press.

First impression: I suddenly became a millionaire. My per diem payments ran to several million [dinars]. This is known as "hyperinflation." Prices rose approximately 1,000 percent last year. The revaluation which was carried out on New Year's Eve (10,000 "old" dinars were exchanged for 1 "new" one) changed the amounts and nothing more...

Money incomes are chasing prices. The stores, by our standards, are full of goods and buyers. Compared with 1979, however, real wages have declined by almost one-third. There are growing numbers of people whose usual life has been disrupted, who have lost their heads

under pressure from the unruly economic forces, and who are dissatisfied with the prevailing order of things.

Second impression: Yugoslavs have disappeared, to be replaced by Serbs, Slovenes, Croatians, Montenegrins, and so on. Of course, during my previous trips to Yugoslavia, I was still aware that I was in a multinational country. But the people I talked to were always Yugoslavs. Everything has changed now. Nowadays, if you are up to date with topical and current problems, you can tell within a matter of minutes whether the person you are talking to is a Serb or a Croatian, a Slovene or a Macedonian.

It is more than just a matter of the nationalities question extending beyond Kosovo and becoming exacerbated. One is struck by the poisonous caustic remarks, the insulting attacks, and the scathing political accusations exchanged by representatives of the republics, by newspapers and journals.

The sad thing, according to D. Lovrenski, an official of the Vojvodina Committee for Information, is that the republics' autonomy has degenerated into an autonomy of national bureaucracies. I was told that the republics' political elites, disregarding statewide federal interests, have destroyed the single Yugoslav market and aggravated imbalances within the national economy.

The richest republic, Slovenia, has taken the most aggressive stance. The Yugoslav Constitution makes no provision for the republics' right to secede from the federation. Slovenia decided to put matters right and to include the right to self-determination, up to and including secession from the federation, in its own constitution. Furthermore, the amendments envisage Slovenia's economic sovereignty and proclaim that any decisions by the federation which jeopardize the republic's interests will not be fulfilled.

...The LCY Central Committee plenum which discussed the situation regarding the Slovene amendments opened 26 September. Even without knowing the language, one could tell that passions were heated. The debate was still going on late into the night, when I went to bed. When I switched on the television at 0600 hours the next day, I saw the same hall, the same presidium, the same people. I first thought that this was a repeat broadcast. Then I realized that they were broadcasting "live." The debate had simply continued all through the night. The plenum ended some time around 0800 hours, having instructed the League of Communists of Slovenia to postpone the adoption of the amendments. But the usual mechanism no longer operated. Slovenia's Republican Assembly adopted the amendments that same day.

Judging by the documents of the republican congresses, the "northern republics" (Slovenia and Croatia) promote the most radical ideas for the renewal of socialism. The "southern republics" (Serbia and others) adhere to more moderate views (for clarity's sake: This "moderation" is much more radical that the "radicalism" of our Interregional Group).

Will the emergency congress manage to halt the centrifugal tendencies and consolidate the federal ties—this is a question of the survival of the party and the country.

Third impression. Pluralism of opinions and glasnost have already reigned in Yugoslavia for a long time. Nonetheless, in my view, there still remained three zones where critical analysis was taboo. First, Tito and his associates. Second, the policy of nonalignment. And third, self-management. It cannot be said that the protection of these zones has been completely abolished. But it has considerably eased and has become more liberal. Especially in the last case.

Everyone admits that self-management, in the form in which it now exists, is far removed from the way it was conceived. "The bureaucrats stifled self-management," was the expression used by C. Radjosic, president of Pridunayskiy [name as transliterated] League of Communists of Vojvodina Municipal Committee (equivalent to our first secretary of a rayon party committee). Self-management is "something nice for nice people," according to V. Milasovic, one of the top "Energoproyekt" [name as transliterated] managers, meaning that "the human factor" is not yet ready for self-management.

...I recall a lengthy conversation I had (a long time ago) with E. Kardelj, the main theoretician of self-management. When I remarked that self-management was one of the great utopias of the 20th century, he replied: History is the process of the materialization of utopias; workers will learn self-management only through self-management.

Unfortunately, this has yet to happen. Forces which covertly oppose self-management proved stronger than official programs and slogans. Another factors was clearly also the excessive complexity of structures like, for example, the delegates system, the common interest societies, and a series of other institutions meant to implement self-management principles. The Law on Associated Labor is, to all intents and purposes, bogged down in bureaucratic quicksand.

Nonetheless, despite the crisis of the present model of self-management, there is still a belief that, no matter how hard and tortuous the path to self-management has been, there is no other path to socialism, there is no other socialism. Therefore Yugoslav socialism remains "self-managed socialism." The experiments will continue.

Another impression. Today, just as 10 and even 20 years ago, attention and debate are mainly focused on the same range of questions: What are the real guarantees of democracy? How to boost the economy's efficiency? How to make working people masters of their labor and its results? What should the Communist Party do if it does not wish to be a "factor of power"?

In all fairness, it must be said that Yugoslav Communists were actually the first to reject Stalin's model of "barracks socialism" and to launch a quest for ways leading

to a coupling of socialism with democracy and human dignity. Much has been done along this avenue. But time, as it rushes along impetuously, is changing criteria and scales alike. And the price of halfhearted solutions—as we are now finding out from our own experience—is that tasks which appeared to be resolved tend to recur, but in a more complex form.

The approach toward a targeted and comprehensive solution also presupposes generalization in appraising the causes of the crisis phenomena. The root of the evil, BORBA Chief Editor M. Vukotic emphasized, lies in the fact that power was monopolized by the party bureaucracy. MEJDUNARODNA POLITIKA Chief Editor R. Petkovic, emphasizing the economic aspect of the matter, perceives the most general cause of the crisis in the fact that socialism has rejected private initiative but has failed to find another equally effective driving force to encourage economic activeness. In Petkovic's opinion, the building of socialism presupposes not the destruction of everything produced by capitalism but a synthesis of all the best that both types of social structure can produce.

It seems that this stance is becoming predominant. A. Markovic's government has already raised the question of creating "a qualitatively new type of socialism," in other words, proposing to legalize pluralism of ownership, give scope to the expansion of enterprise, and consolidate market mechanisms. Evidently pluralism of ownership will be supplemented by political pluralism and the rehabilitation of the multiparty system on which Slovenia and Croatia are insisting.

Comparing the situation in the West and in the East, V. Krivokapic, chief editor of another weekly, KOMUNIST, formulated a paradox: They are trying to make capitalism socialist, we are trying to make socialism capitalist. All this sounds strange, but what can you do. It was no accident that V.I. Lenin loved to talk about history being "smarter" than our theories.

The 14th (Emergency) LCY Congress will show how Yugoslav Communists respond to the challenge of the time. I got the impression that the lengthy period of difficulties and confusion has intensified pessimistic sentiments. Let me cite a BORBA analytical article which appeared in mid-December. "Right at a time," the author writes, "when hope emerged that we would at long last start thinking in a new fashion, with fresh ideas, the fear of new totalitarianism and a stage-managed state of emergency is becoming more and more real. More specifically, a requiem is being hurriedly written for the party—not for the party we want to forget while forgiving all its sins and mistakes, but for the new democratic party which party and national leaders do not allow us to achieve. Thus, to everyone's general misfortune, a requiem is being written for Yugoslavia."

One would very much like to hope that the congress of Yugoslav Communists will not prove this forecast right and that the "battle for Yugoslavia" will be won.

Commentator on East Europe Roundtables

LD2201235490 Moscow International Service in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Georgiy Grammatchikov commentary on events in Eastern Europe]

[Text] Roundtable meetings with the participation of representatives of various parties and political associations are becoming a frequent phenomenon in the political life of these countries. A Bulgarian newspaper has described this form of dialogue as a bridge between totalitarianism and democracy. In Bulgaria, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia the participants in roundtable debates are resolving issues which in fact are going to decide the future of these countries. Elections to parliaments or to local authority bodies have been announced in almost every country of the region. Undoubtedly the results of the roundtable negotiations are going to affect the course of the election campaigns.

In my opinion, roundtables are a successful method for comparing the positions of the participants in the meetings, for seeking sensible compromises, and for establishing the real political significance of particular parties. I emphasize very strongly that this concerns real significance, rather than formal significance inherited from times gone by.

Well, for some participants in these discussions the roundtable may turn out to be not all that round and smooth. Let us recall that last year the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] came up against the sharp and uncomfortable edge of a roundtable, and had to give up its place at the wheel of power to Solidarity. I consider that the leadership of the PZPR manifested political wisdom in accepting the blow in a dignified manner and avoiding the temptation to use violence in order to preserve its former positions. After all, party dogmatists at the time even demanded that arms be resorted to. But as PZPR leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski notes, commonsense prevailed, while time will show whether we can regain what we have lost.

Roundtables in the GDR and Bulgaria are proceeding in a tense public atmosphere. More than once there have been situations which threatened to break down the negotiations. It appears to me that the participants in the talks feel behind them the hot breath of the rallies and demonstrations in the streets and squares. The devastation of the state security building in Berlin and the eruption of nationalist disturbances in Sofia show clearly that there is but one alternative to the democratic process. This is chaos, anarchy, and violence.

As I write this, I wonder whether my considerations are not going to evoke reproach from listeners, whether the subject of roundtables is appropriate for a journalist from a country where the blood of innocent victims has recently been spilled, where people became involved in an armed conflict. True, the events in the Transcaucasus are our common heartache. But that is precisely why, I

believe, I am morally entitled to tell our listeners: Try to avoid our mistakes. You cannot delay making decisions while the conflict is still only developing, when the situation is still under control. In negotiations one ought not to put forward conditions which are a priori unacceptable to one's partners. One should avoid all kinds of demands in the form of ultimatums. According to a Russian saying, a bad peace is still better than a good conflict. Commonsense should always dictate ways out of even the most complex situation which may appear totally beyond solution. So a roundtable, which may even sometimes have sharp edges, is right now the best kind of furniture.

West Europe

CPSU Official Departs for Austrian CP Congress

PM2201134590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At Invitation of Communist Party of Austria Leadership"]

[Text] Yu.S. Karabasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, who is to take part in the work of the Austrian Communists' upcoming 27th congress, left Moscow for Vienna 18 January.

Soviet Ships Pay 'Friendly' Visit to Greece

LD2201222190 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Athens January 22 TASS—Two Soviet naval ships—the large anti-submarine ship *Azov* and the escort ship *Pytlivy*—arrived on an official friendly visit to the Greek port of Piraeus on Monday.

The delegation of Soviet sailors, led by Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Mikhail Khronopulo, was greeted on the quay by officers of the Greek Navy and by the public.

Later in the day, Khronopulo was received by Defence Minister Tzannis Tzannetakis.

Georgia Establishes Economic Ties With Turkey

LD2201133890 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 22 Jan 90

[by TASS correspondent Yury Goldman]

[Text] Tbilisi January 22 TASS—The Georgian Government approved a memorandum of understanding between this Soviet Transcaucasian republic and Turkey on the development of economic and trade relations, which was signed in Ankara last December during a visit to Turkey by a Georgian Government delegation.

Commenting on the decision made by the government today, Georgian Deputy Prime Minister Otar Melkadze told TASS that the principle of mutual advantage underlying trade and economic relations with Turkey guarantees their reliability and broad prospects.

Melkadze cited border and coastal trade as the most efficient forms of foreign economic relations between Georgia and Turkey. "But we shall promote the development of other forms of cooperation, including joint ventures and co-production," he added.

Among specific areas of cooperation in the near future, Melkadze named the processing of agricultural products, the retooling of light industry enterprises, construction and the building industry, the production of medical equipment, the development of various types of transport communications and water resources.

Joint tourist business can also be of great interest, including cruises on the Black Sea by Soviet liners, composite tours across Gerogia and Turkey for tourists from the Soviet Union, Turkey and third countries and charter flights between Tbilisi and Ankara.

The two republics will trade through the following ports and cities: Batumi, Poti and Sarpi village in Georgia and Trebizond, Samsun, Artvin and the city of Erzurum in Turkey.

Vorontsov, Adamishin Receive UK's Waldegrave

LD2201234190 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS—A conversation was held on Monday in the Soviet Foreign Ministry between Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister and visiting British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Hon. William Waldegrave. The conversation was held within the framework of Soviet-British political consultations.

The sides compared positions concerning developments in central and Eastern Europe. They confirmed the identity of approaches of the two countries towards the strengthening of European security and stability. Regional problems and some aspects of bilateral relations were discussed in a constructive spirit that has become traditionally characteristic of the Soviet-British interaction in international affairs.

At the request of the British Minister Vorontsov brief him on the steps being taken in the Soviet Union to normalize the situation in Transcaucasia. Waldergrave expressed understanding of the efforts made by the Soviet authorities to curb the escalation of the interethnic conflict.

Vorontsov gave a luncheon in honor of Waldegrave.

Consultations with the British minister were continued on the same day by Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Anatoliy Adamishin.

The sides discussed a range of questions relating to all directions of the European process. An interested discussion was held concerning the necessary steps to prepare for the European summit in 1990.

The sides stated the favourable development of the bilateral dialogue that enriched East-West relations as a whole. [as received] The sides specifically discussed forthcoming Soviet-British events, including the Days of Britain festival in the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Seen Damaging Latin American Interests

LD1901221190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1113 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan—TASS observer Gennadiy Petrov writes:

The U.S. intervention in Panama has promoted a drastic rise in chauvinistic moods in the United States, on the wave of which President George Bush has reached an unprecedented level of popularity among his fellow countrymen. But at the same time this adventure has led to a clear deterioration in relations between Washington and the majority of countries in Latin America. As noted by the BOSTON GLOBE newspaper, the negative consequences of this action will be felt in the Western Hemisphere for a long time to come, because the Latin Americans will consider the United States the gendarme of Latin America.

The head of the White House evidently felt this as well when he made the forced decision to narrow the framework of the "tranquilizing" diplomatic mission of U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle, having called off the visit by him to Mexico and Venezuela. In the course of the forthcoming trip at the end of January, Quayle will only visit Panama, Honduras, and Jamaica. The governments of Mexico and Venezuela, which condemned the U.S. aggression against Panama, have made it understood that the vice president is hardly likely to be a desirable guest in these countries at the present time.

Commenting on Washington's decision that the vice president should cancel such important points on his forthcoming tour, the British GUARDIAN states that a hostile attitude to the Bush Administration persists in the region. The President unexpectedly discovered genuine displeasure. The situation is complicated by the fact that the United States is experiencing a growing dependence on oil imports of late, and approximately half of the oil is delivered to the U.S. market precisely from Mexico and Venezuela.

However, it is not just these countries that are criticizing yet another lapse in "diplomatic canons." The Organization of American States condemned it, as well as many Latin American political and public figures, including those who did not have any sympathy for General Noriega. The public in South America is obviously concerned about the U.S. armed invasion of tiny Panama as a dangerous precedent for keeping order in an American way in the sovereign states to the south of the Rio Grande.

Washington's prestige in the Western Hemisphere and beyond its bounds is by no means promoted by such illegal actions as the unceremonious violation by U.S. soldiers of the diplomatic immunity of the staff of the embassies of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Peru in Panama and by the Pentagon's attempt to set up an air and sea blockade of Colombia under the pretext of fighting drug trafficking.

Appearing in the eyes of Latin Americans as the aggressor who acts according to the principle "the end justifies the means," the Bush administration has done extremely palpable damage to its long-term interests in Latin America.

Brazilian President-Elect To Visit USSR

LD2201121390 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—As a result of an understanding, Fernando Collor de Melo who will be sworn in as president of Brazil on March 15, will visit Moscow late in January as a guest of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Shortcomings' Noted in Cuban Trade, Cooperation

LD2001143290 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] In Cuba the economic performance last year is being summed up. Results of cooperation with the Soviet Union are discussed in particular. Here is our Havana correspondent Viktor Gorbachev.

First about the joint construction projects. Last year work proceeded on 150 of them, 20 were completed. Most of them are working productively. But there are serious drawbacks too, for example the large textile mill Santiago de Cuba did not cope with its target. Plans for supply of products were not reached at other Soviet-Cuban ventures, with both countries to blame.

There are delays in the supply of Soviet equipment and the equipment often does not meet international standards. Short supplies by the Soviet Union were worth an impressive figure of about R150 million. The USSR failed to honor its pledges on oil products and on a number of consumer goods, including refrigerators and television sets for various reasons. One reason is the shortage of these products in the USSR itself and the other reasons—strikes at a number of Soviet plants as well as breakdowns in the work of Soviet transport. I may also note that the Soviet industrial facilities that have access to the foreign markets find it more profitable to sell their products not to Cuba but to other socialist countries and, quality permitting, to capitalist countries.

As for Cuba, it had a short supply to the Soviet Union of citrus fruits, a shortage of 100,000 t. It also failed to meet the targets for the supply of other commodities.

All these shortcomings in Soviet-Cuban trade and economic cooperation will be taken into account this year.

Peruvian Shining Path Violence Condemned

PY2201170090 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Valentin Mashkin commentary]

[Text] Our analyst Valentin Mashin comments on the murder of 40 Peruvian peasants.

The authors of this horrendous crime are the sadly reknowned Maoist armed group Shining Path. The reason for the murders is that the peasants had organized defense patrols to defend themselves.

The Shining Path also kills workers, political leaders, and activists, including those of the Communist Party. The terrorists have killed more than 100 people during the first half of January and 17,500 people in the past 10 years.

If you want to know my opinion, those leftist terrorists are no better than right wing ones. Extremism is very bad on both ends of the political spectrum. Whatever extreme of the political spectrum terrorists may belong to, they violate human rights, create unrest in their countries, and specifically obstruct the [word indistinct] life.

I think that one more factor should be taken into consideration. These (?leftist) groups like the Shining Path cannot be compared with the Salvadoran rebels or the Guatemalan guerrillas. Large rebel groups are active in Central American to counteract right wing death squadrons and reactionary armies. Those guerrilla groups, which have their people's support, have sought in the past few years to stop long civil wars. They are now seeking a dialogue with the local authorities, and they favor a reasonable agreement to stop the clashes.

If we should look for comparisons with the Shining Path, we must first mention the just as sadly famous Italian Red Brigades, which spilled from their national borders long ago.

It sometimes seems that the Shining Path members do not completely understand what they are doing. For example, not long ago they killed two young French tourists. Last year, they tried to attack some Soviet sailors. All this seems as if they were opening fire without aiming, or without any sense or purpose.

One must take into account that the Shining Path is not fighting against a dictatorship or an ultraconservative government. The current Peruvian Government is one of the most moderate and liberal in South America. It is always open to political agreements.

The paradox also resides in the fact that the Shining Path has greatly increased its operations in 1980, when the military regime fell and power passed into civilian hands. The Shining Path's participation in the first election after 2 [number as heard] years of military administration was typical of the group. The Shining Path destroyed the ballot boxes in a town in the interior, and since then it sabotaged every election. Municipal elections were held on Thanksgiving Day last November, and it cost the lives of 1,600 [figure as heard] people. Now, general elections are about to be held in April. According to Peruvian newspapers, terrorist violence is again stepping up.

Isn't it time that this absurd blood spilling ceased? I am not only expressing my opinion, but many other people in our country also ask themselves this same question when they (?learn of the actions) of these Peruvian extremists. What do our listeners think of this matter? We would like to know. Write about this subject to Valentin Mashkin, Radio Peace and Progress, Moscow, Soviet Union.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Meets 22 Jan To Discuss Glasnost

LD2201100190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet is meeting in Moscow today to discuss issues concerning glasnost, rights, and citizens's applications.

Heated Debate on Property Law Expected

LD2201221790 Moscow TASS in Engish 2143 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

It will not be an overstatement to say that the law on property will be heatedly debated at the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is to open on February 14. This view is confirmed also by the analysis of letters coming to parliament during the nationwide discussion of the bill.

Yuriy Kalmykov, acting chairman of the parliamentary committee on legislation, told the committee's meeting today that approximately 70-80 per cent of the authors of letters support the principles of diversity of forms of property contained in the bill.

At the same time, many provisions of the document evoke contradictory comments. A number of authors categorically object to private property in the Soviet Union.

Kalmykov believes that the problem that will complicate the passage of the bill will be the definition of property on land and natural resources. It should be noted that the question of ownership of land and natural resources—whether they should belong to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or to republics—was more than once the stumbling block during the discussion of many documents in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

It is precisely the absence of a compromise solution that was the reason why the autumn session of parliament last year twice rejected the government bill on the general principles of the management of the economy and social area in union republics.

The discussion of the law on property shows that in such a complicated matter even compromise solutions do not satisfy everyone.

Radically-minded authors believe that the wording of the document is not bold enough. Their opponents, mostly aged people, assert that the published version of the law is aimed at the "destruction of the foundations of socialism" and even demand that its authors "be put on trial".

One of the authors of the law on property, Ukrainian economist Aleksey Boiko, is of the opinion that this approach is largely explained by stereotypes in thinking which people often find difficult or even impossible to give up.

On the whole such a variety of opinions will undoubtedly affect the course of the debate in the USSR Supreme Soviet. It will be very acute. This law cannot be passed without struggle, the scientist holds.

Political & Social

Politburo Meets 22 Jan; Plenum Set for 5-6 Feb

PM2301101590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

["In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Politburo met today 22 January, and examined the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the 28th party congress. Having thoroughly discussed the draft, the Central Committee Politburo, on the whole, approved the tenets of the platform and entrusted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with revising the document, taking into consideration the comments expressed, after which the draft will be submitted for examination by the next plenum of the Central Committee. The Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision to hold a Central Committee plenum on this matter on 5-6 February, 1990.

At the meeting, the results of the visit by Comrade Gorbachev and a group of participants in the December 1989 extraordinary CPSU Central Committee plenum to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic were examined and corresponding proposals to the CPSU Central Committee plenum was worked out.

Information was examined about the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting and the conversations which Comrades Yakovlev and Lukyanov had with the delegation of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] of Japan, led by Abe. It was stated that the exchange of opinions which took place made it possible to substantially deepened the Soviet-Japanese politic[illegible] dialogue, in which representatives of the ruling party [illegible]apan took an active part for the first time. Fresh opportunities for improving Soviet-Japanese relations and developing bilateral ties in various spheres were revealed. It is important that both sides expressed the opinion that it is essential to bring these relations up to the level coresponding to the demands of the time, to the role of both countries in the modern world, and to the present dynamic of international life.

Agreement was expressed with the proposal by the Japanese side to develop interparty ties between the CPSU and the LDP.

The results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation and Comrade Shevardnadze's meetings with Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United

Nations, were examined at the session. Note was taken of the increase in the role of the United Nations, its Security Council, and the secretary general in the process of transition from the cold war to a peaceful period of international development through formation of a universal human consensus and through securing stability and law and order. Stress was placed upon the immutability of the political line of support for the United Nations, a policy which proceeds organically from adherence to the new foreign policy thinking and from perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost within the country.

Two Dead in Military Convoy Attack in Baku

LD2301063590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0519 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Telephone report from corresondent Leonid Lazarevich in Baku; from an unscheduled bulletin; from the "Panorama" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Leonid Lazarevich is in contact with our Panorama studio by telephone. I'm receiving you.

[Lazarevich] The situation here in the city still remains complex. A convoy of vehicles in which servicemen who had already been demobilized, and women who were traveling—came under fire yesterday evening. Two servicemen died. There are victims among the population. Another three exchanges of fire have been recorded, including with Interior Ministry troop details. A statement by the military commandant broadcast on the radio today says that the troops are prepared to stop, with complete determination, any attack on the safety of the people of Baku and their property. They are keeping control of the situation. However, there are forces here with an interest in maintaining tension at the highest level. Even yesterday, the mournful day when people bade farewell to those who had died, I was witness to a provocation. On the central square, where there were a lot of people, somebody threw a smoke-bomb. Just a little bit more, and panic could have arisen.

The troops now have to ensure fulfillment of the requirements of the state of emergency. Let me remind you that it envisages a ban on rallies, marches, demonstrations, and strikes and a ban on keeping weapons. Fifty-eight firearms were confiscated yesterday. The city commandant has declared that those who give them up voluntarily by 0900 tomorrow morning will be freed from responsibility. Very unfortunately, there are a lot of arms in the city. Soldiers and cadets have told me that they have been fired on with the most modern weapons, including automatic and sniper rifles. Exchanges of fire began with operations by the guerrillas against the troops. That has taken so many lives. I feel that the guilty are obliged to be, must be, brought to account too. Yesterday evening, AZERINFORM put out a report that over the building of party and local soviet.

[Announcer, interrupting] Leonid, a little bit louder if you can, because there is interference on the line.

[Lazarevich] Forgive me. Late yesterday evening, AZERINFORM put out a report that the Republic's flag has again been established over the building of party and local Soviet establishments in Nagorno-Karabakh. Representatives of law-and-order bodies from the republic and the center have detained the organizers of groups that were committing illegal acts. I have now, recently, heard on the radio an appeal to the people of Baku from staff of the Committee for State Security. It says that Azerbaijan was on the edge of the abyss, beyond which lay chaos and anarchy. The staff of the republic's KGB expressed the conviction that the tragic events were provoked by those who do not want peace in this land. Let us hope that this conviction will help them to fulfill their professional duty.

[Announcer] Thank you, thank you.

Commandant on Convoy Attack

NC2301094490 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0805 GMT 23 Jan 90

["Repeat broadcast of morning notice from the commandant of Baku city"]

[Text] The situation in Baku city remained complicated over the past 24 hours. Extremist groupings are continuing their criminal activities and provoking clashes with the troops.

At 1800 yesterday in the area of the Tbilisi highway, near the automobile repair workshop on [name indistinct] street, they fired on a column of vehicles carrying demobilized servicemen as well as women and children. Two servicemen and a woman bystander were killed and one civilian wounded in the exchange of fire. There is no information about the attackers.

At 2140 in the area of the Leningrad highway, a military vehicle was fired on from a Zhiguli car.

At 0040 a line-unit detail on (Rustavi) Street was fired on and at 0240 a line-unit detail on (Karayev) Street was also fired on.

The extremists are thus continuing their criminal activities. The troops are doing everything possible not to harm peaceful inhabitants.

Irresponsible individuals are continuing to spread various kinds of provocative rumors and fabrications which are creating tension in the city. People are receiving anonymous letters and telephone calls. Peaceful residents from the Russian-speaking segment of the population are applying to leave Baku city.

I beg everyone to keep calm and not to give in to provocations. The troops of the Baku garrison are in control of the situation and will not permit anyone to infringe upon the life of peaceful inhabitants [words indistinct]. All necessary measures will be taken as

required to restore law and order. I beg citizens to observe [words indistinct] and calm, and not to [words indistinct].

Accurate information about the situation in Baku city and the commandant's orders will be broadcast every day at 0800, 1400, and 2000 hours. We firmly believe that the inhabitants of the city will (?show understanding).

We would like to report that 4 persons were detained for administrative violations and 58 for violating the curfew in the past 24 hours. [passage indistinct]

[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, commandant of Baku city 23 Jan 1106z bpm

Dubinyak on Situation

LD2301092990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—Vladimir Dubinyak, Baku's military commandant, has called the introduction of the state of emergency in the capital of Azerbaijan an extreme and forced measure envisioning a guarantee for citizens' safety and an end to illegal actions.

In an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, Lieutenant-General Dubinyak noted the extremists themselves in essence created the atmosphere for the state of emergency by their protest calls against the introduction of the curfew in the city. It is difficult to find words to express one's condolences to the people of the most varied of nationalities, into whose families grief has today intruded, the commandant said.

Describing the situation in Baku, Dubinyak reported that shots are to be heard from time to time in several parts of the city. So far the troops have partially put under guard the main vital sites in the city. Steps are being taken to back up the procedures of the state of emergency. The curfew is being implemented. It operates first and foremost in the interests of the citizens themselves.

The general expressed gratitude to all the Baku citizens who are exerting a stabilizing influence by virtue of their behaviour. However, he added, rallies continue in the daytime in the city in violation of the rules of the state of emergency.

Concerning the level of information for the population about the events taking place in the city and the republic, Vladimir Dubinyak said efforts are being made to restore television transmissions. He reported radio broadcasting in Baku was started again by the military on 20 January. The commandant's office is producing and distributing leaflets and circulars to implement explanatory and informational work.

Denies Attacks on Russians

NC2201123790 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Notice from the military commandant of the Baku city special district]

[Text] [Words indistinct] central and local newspapers are not available, and for all practical purposes the radio remains the sole source of information. As a result, all kinds of provocative rumors and fabrications are being spread.

Over the last few hours rumors have become more frequent about attacks on families of Russians. There is nothing of the sort; this is a lie.

I appeal to all the inhabitants of Baku not to give in to provocations, to observe calm, and not to permit lawlessness. One should not walk from one calamity into another.
[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku city

Baku 'Peaceful'

NC2201151290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1334 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Notice by Lieutenant General Dubinyak, military commandant of Baku—read by announcer]

[Text] Esteemed workers of Baku, the situation in the city is peaceful. Conditions are good and public law and order has not been disrupted.

With deep sorrow, I convey my condolences to the (?families) and relatives of those who have been killed. I express my [word indistinct] for your careful and understanding behavior and for the way you complied with public law and order.
[Signed] Lieutenant General Dubinyak, Internal Afairs, commandant of Baku city.

Interview With Dubinyak

LD2201233390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2112 GMT 22 Jan 90

[From the "TV News Service" program]

[Text] [Unidentified Correspondent] How influential are the forces of the People's Front, and what is the general attitude of the population toward them?

[V.S. Dubinyak, commandant of the Baku special region] Well, you know, it is clearly influential because every day in the square outside the Central Committee building a crowd of up to 40-35,000 [as heard] gathers. Slogans of an anti-Soviet content are being uttered there.

[Correspondent] Have you not tried to sit down at the negotiating table with them?

[Dubinyak] Of course we have, and we are not the only ones who have sat down at the negotiating table—the

republican leaders have tried to appeal to their commonsense—but so far there have clearly been no positive results.

First Deputy Chief of Staff on Baku Situation

PM2101163690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 90 Monring Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General Bronislav Aleksandrovich Omelichev, first deputy chief of General Staff, by IZVESTIYA correspondent I. Andreyev, on 21 January: "State of Emergency in Baku: The Night and the First Day"—place of interview not given; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] 21 January, 1400 hours—The state of emergency in Baku has been in force for more than 36 hours. What success has there been for the army subunits that entered the city and those that, conversely, left the military camps blockaded by the extremists? At the request of IZVESITYA's correspondent, Colonel General B. Omelichev, first deputy chief of General Staff, comments on the situation at this time.

"During this time," Bronislav Aleksandrovich says, "the troops have taken control of important facilities ensuring the normal functioning of government and state institutions, transportation, the mass media, and the city's life support systems, as well as the protection of the population. Squares and intersections where large groups of people could gather and try to do so have been occupied. All the entrances to Baku and the airfields from which army contingents are arriving in the city are under control."

[Andreyev] Are troops still arriving in the city?

[Omelichev] Servicemen are arriving and will be arriving to relieve the recently drafted reservists, who, as has already been reported, are returning home.

Apart from the ground forces, two Caspian Naval Flotilla airborne subunits are maintaining order. Their task is to control the main entrances to and exits from the city and stop vehicles with aggressively minded passengers from entering Baku.

[Andreyev] Has combat equipment been brought into the city too?

[Omelichev] Yes, the equipment assigned to the subunits according to their manning level—armored carriers, airborne fighting vehicles.

[Andreyev] And tanks?

[Omelichev] Their use is not envisaged, but these machines, with externally mounted dozer equipment, are being used to clear obstacles on the approaches to the city.

[Andreyev] There are reports of helicopters patrolling over Baku and of an airborne force that was landed by them in Ukraine Square on the night of 19-29 January....

[Omelichev] In any event, they are not combat helicopters. The reports probably refer to the helicopters that are dropping leaflets or monitoring the situation from the air. I know nothing about a landing in the square. But I suppose the transportation of subunits from one part of the city to another may have looked like that. There was no need for an airborne landing. As had been envisaged, the paratroop regiments arrived in Baku from the west and east.

[Andreyev] Has the militants' armed resistance been suppressed yet?

[Omelichev] Yes, in general, but there have been recurrences in the time that has elapsed. The incident, so to speak, is not over yet.

[Andreyev] And what tactics do you think the extremists will resort to in the new conditions they face?

[Omelichev] These are people blinded by nationalist and antiarmy propaganda, who no longer hear peaceful arguments. I am afraid they will continue to try to provoke the troops into using weapons by using them first themselves.

They also have a frankly vile tactic in their arsenal, namely, terrorizing servicemen's families and taking innocent people hostage. It is not hard to imagine what a grave, uncontrollable reaction that could provoke. We are doing everything to evacuate the families of servicemen serving here.

[Andreyev] It has also been reported that after the troops' entry into the city the streets of Baku were awash with blood, dozens of people fell under the tracks of tanks and the wheels of armored carriers, and there were corpses everywhere. M. Agayev of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's permanent mission in Moscow told a REUTER corxespondent on 20 January that "there are many, very many bodies in the street" and that "the troops are attacking the peaceful population"....

[Omelichev] I can state categorically that this is a lie. The troops are trying with all their might to avoid casualties. By 1400 hours on 21 January, according to preliminary figures, more than 60 civilians and 14 servicemen had been killed, and 76 servicemen wounded.

[Andreyev] Late in the evening of 20 January, a curfew was imposed in Baku. As you know, the television service is not operating in the city. How were the population informed about this measure?

[Omelichev] There is still the radio—that is functioning. Mobile loudspeaker subunits were being deployed on 20 January. Everything was done to ensure that literally everyone knew in good time about the announcement of the curfew and understood that it is in his own interest.

In the time that has elapsed since then, there have been no serious incidents. The troops are fulfilling their allotted task of imposing order in Baku.

Mutalibov Addresses Azerbaijan People 22 Jan

PM2301102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the Situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia"]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—As is known, only extraordinary circumstances—the sharp aggravation of the situation in Baku, the pogroms, the attempts by criminal extremist forces to remove the legitimately operating state bodies from power by force, organizing mass disturbances—made it imperative to introduce the emergency in the capital of Azerbaijan. This measure was aimed at preventing even more bloodshed.

On the morning of 22 January A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, member of the political leadership of the republic, addressed the population. Great sorrow has come upon our land, he said. People are dying. Together with the whole Azerbaijan people I grieve for their deaths. I bow my head before their fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters. Each of us realizes the full measure of his personal responsibility for all that has happened. With complete sincerity I declare that we took every possible measure to avert the introduction of the emergency in the capital of the republic. Practical measures are being carried out to restore the sovereignty of the republic and step up the fight against the extremists, he continued. A number of organizers of nationalistic and extremist groups have been detained and are being brought to criminal liability. There has been an examination of questions connected with refugees and other socioeconomic problems.

On the same day in Baku the funeral of those who died on 19-20 January was held.

Despite the facts, exaggerated rumors unfortunately continue to be put about in the republic concerning many hundreds and even thousands of victims among the inhabitants of Baku, including women and children. In fact, as the military commandant of the city has announced on local radio, on 19-20 January in Baku 83 people died, including 14 servicemen and members of their families. Among the Baku people who died, as competent sources have informed TASS, there is not one woman or child. But among the families of the military there really are women killed and wounded.

In his message the military commandant stressed: Proportionate to the population's security being ensured, the emergency regime which has been declared in the city will be relaxed. For the sake of restoration of order, persons unlawfully possessing weapons are asked to surrender them to representatives of rayon military commandants' officers by 0900 on 24 January. All who voluntarily surrender their weapons by this time will not be liable to detention or be brought to book.

However leaflets containing a call for civil disobedience and confrontation are still being distributed in the capital of Azerbaijan. Extremist and nationalist elements, directed by certain leaders of the "People's Front of Azerbaijan," are wagering on stirring up anti-army and even anti-Russian feeling. With this purpose false rumors are being circulated about cruelty allegedly shown by the servicemen toward the population. Under the threat of physical violence the non-indigenous population is being faced with demands that it leave the city.

Firing by the terrorists on military settlements, in particular the so-called Salyany Barracks, continues in Baku.

Representatives of the "People's Front of Azerbaijan" at times do not stop short of the most insidious lies in their attempts to discredit the servicemen. Terrorists belonging to this very Front fire on the Salyany barracks, but at the same time people from "non-formal" organizations circulate rumors and send telegrams across the country to the effect that armed clashes have allegedly taken place here between servicemen of different nationalities and that there are casualties from these clashes. This is totally at variance with the truth, there is nothing at all in reality.

Outrages are taking place in the towns and population centers of Azerbaijan. In the town of Pushkino a crowd of unbridled rascals smashed up the building of the rayon committee of the party and destroyed a monument to V.I. Lenin. In the region of Nakhichevan an attack was made on the position of a radar station. It was repelled.

In Stepanakert measures continue in the administrative detention of extremists of the so-called "Karabakh Movement." They include two people suspected of organizing and carrying out the seizure of hostages.

Threats against Kurds living in the Masisskiy, Sevanskiy, and Razdanskiy rayons of Armenia have become more frequent in the republic in recent days. According to information received, in a number of cases terrorists of various informal organizations are carrying out criminal actions to seize weapons jointly with criminal elements.

At the same time there are also cases when the measures being undertaken to settle the conflict are producing an effect. The voluntary surrender of weapons is spreading in Armenia. In the village of Yeraskh in the Araratskiy rayon a meeting took place between M.A. Serobyan, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and V.M. Dayan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR; and I.A. Ragimov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijani SSR and R.U. Dzhalilov, secretary of the Nakhichevan oblast committee of the party. Major-General M.S. Surkov, USSR People's Deputy, and Major General of the Internal Troops N.G. Fedosov took part in the meeting.

In order to avoid further escalation of the conflict it was decided to make joint efforts to halt the exchanges of fire and clashes, to bring the armed groups out of the frontier rayons, to restore damaged railway communications, to open railway traffic into Armenia and Azerbaijan, and to unblock the roadway into the village of Kerki in the Ilyichevskiy rayon. As a result of explanatory work carried out by the commanders and the political bodies of the frontier troops agreement was reached on the lifting of pickets on roads in Zangelanskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 22 January in a similar report on the meeting adds that the agreement to lift pickets applies to the roads of Zangelanskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan]

During the past 24 hours a trend for a decline in the number of violations of the state frontier of the USSR has been noted.

NKAO Judicial Bodies Ask to Leave Azeri System

LD2201155390 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1315 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Jan (ARMENPRESS) The judicial bodies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have sent a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow, and to the NKAO Special Administration Committee in Stepanakert. It reads as follows:

"The continuing and unprecedented mass murders, the expulsion of Armenians from Azerbaijan, and the physical annihilation of people on the basis of their nationality have paralyzed the work of the oblast's judicial bodies. In the existing circumstances it is impossible to ensure the further execution of justice in the name of a republic which has officially elevated its anti-Armenian policy to state level. We request that you immediately remove the oblast's judicial bodies from the Azerbaijani judicial system."

The appeal by the NKAO judicial bodies was adopted at a conference of the autonomous oblast's judges on 16 January 1990. It was published in the newspaper KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH on 17 January.

Azerbaijan Front Says 300 Dead

LD2201145890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 90

[From the Press Review, presented by correspondent Algis Usas]

[Excerpts] Almost right before this program I managed to get through to Baku on the telephone. It is very difficult to find someone there. There is either no answer, or the line is engaged, but despite all these difficulties I managed to make a telephone call to the headquarters of the People's Front.

I understood from the recording of this call that many people are calling the headquarters, including correspondents from abroad; answers are given in several languages and even simultaneously to several correspondents at a time.

I would like to say that I can not guarantee that this information is genuine and unbiased because, as you know, I have not been there personally and have not taken part in the events. Nevertheless, here is the information from the Azerbaijan People's Front.

[Begin recording in Russian] [Unidentified speaker] [Passage omitted] At the moment a march of mourning is taking place. The city is crammed with people, it is impossible to move about in the streets. More than 1 million people are out on the streets.

[Usas] Is this happening right now?

[Speaker] Yes it is indeed. You can hear the sirens everywhere. The 145 dead are carried in the front lines of the crowd, among them a 9-year-old boy, a young girl, and three militiamen. Yesterday 119 graves were dug. By yesterday morning there were about 300 people dead, and about 10 [as heard] people wounded. Are you recording this?

[Usas] Yes, sure.

[Speaker] Five ambulances have been crushed; seven ambulances were shot at. One doctor was shot at close range while he was rendering medical assistance to a wounded man. Burials are taking place today. All the city and villages in the vicinity are out on the streets. Only flags of mourning can be seen. At present baskets are carried and people are throwing their party membership cards into these baskets. As the party membership cards are being returned, the Unions of Creative Workers are leaving the structure of All-Union organizations; people's deputies will not attend sessions of the Supreme Soviet and the congresses.

Now I want to tell you that an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet took place last night. I will read a statement issued by our party [as heard] in which everything is described .

[Usas] What session was this?

[Speaker] It was an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet.

[Usas] Yes, I see.

[Speaker] The session took place at night.

[Usas] And only a third of deputies were present.

[Speaker] Yes, that's right, because deputies from nearby rayons could come. Others could not, because these rayons have been cordoned off.

[Usas] Does this mean that there was no quorum?

[Speaker] No, there was a quorum?

[Usas] So, what is this statement, please? [Speaker] On the night of 19-20 January 1990 the operation aimed at occupying the city was begun by units of the Soviet Armed Forces which had been positioned around the capital of Azerbaijan, which has 2 million inhabitants. On 20 January at midnight the use of weapons began against the inhabitants, who on the orders of the People's Front had taken up positions on all roads leading into the capital. Soldiers opened fire against the civilian population at the Salyanovsky Barracks, and as a result of this people were killed and wounded. The total casualties at the Salyanovsky Barracks by the morning was 13 dead including a 9-year-old boy, and scores of wounded.

The most effective job done by the Soviet soldiers was at (Balagsar), on the road to the airport, at the monument to the occupational 11th Red Army, in Residential Rayon No 1 (Mashtagi) village, where 28 corpses were thrown into a ditch. People and cars, including five ambulance cars, were crushed by tanks. There was almost no resistance because the Baku people were mainly unarmed. Some of them had only bottles of petrol, hunting rifles, and flare pistols.

The preliminary results of the bloody night are as follows: more than 300 dead and 700 wounded.

All the hospitals in Baku are full. Only military doctors and medical assistants have permission to register those who are wounded or dead, to operate on the wounded people, so that bullet wounds are not recorded for future Supreme Soviet commissions.

Assessing the events which took place on the night of 19 January, we state with all the responsibility that these bloody events are the results of a joint action that was planned in advance by the party and government circles of Azerbaijan and Armenia under the unfailing guidance of the CPSU Politburo and with the direct participation of the KGB and [words indistinct]. [end recording]

That was a report from Baku.

MVD Updates Recent Incidents in Baku; 75 Dead

LD2301075990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] I begin with information we have just received from Baku—from the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Press Center.

The situation in the republic remains tense. Yesterday, in Lenin Square, Baku, and in many other cities and rayons of Azerbaijan, there were funeral rallies involving many thousands of people. According to more precise figures, since 20 January, 75 civilians have been killed, most of whom died in hospital. There are dead and wounded among the law-and-order forces. A total of 639 people have visited medical aid establishments; of these, 377 have been hospitalized.

In the past 24 hours, 4 people were detained in Baku for administrative offences and 58 for curfew infringements. About 68 firearms and 6 other weapons were confiscated from citizens.

Extremist groupings are continuing their criminal activities, provoking clashes with the troops. Three times troop details came under fire in the course of yesterday and last night from unidentified individuals. As a consequence of the shooting, three people died—two of them servicemen.

Rumors and conjectures calculated to incite people are being spread in the city by irresponsible people. These contribute to the continued tension. Anonymous letters and telephone calls are being sent with threats to individual citizens. Anti-army and anti-Russian emotions are being stirred up.

Lieutenant General Dubinyak, the commandant of the special district of Baku, spoke today on local radio. He appealed to the citizens to remain calm and self-possessed, and not to give in to provocations. He assured them that the troops of the Baku garrison would not allow anyone to encroach on the lives of Soviet people. The situation is being kept under watch.

MVD Official on NKAO

90UI0303A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 3, 20-26 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General B. Smyslov, first deputy commander of USSR MVD internal troops, by A. Binev: "The National Tragedy"]

[Text] [Binev] Boris Konstantinovich, how would you define the situation in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] from the point of view of the military?

[Smyslov] It is too early to say about a civil war there, but its most obvious elements are already in existence. We present the only force capable of preventing further aggressive actions by both sides.

To the known facts I can only add that there is a noticeable tendency to further complications. Both the Armenian and Azeri sides plunged into an open armed confrontation. In Armenia, for instance, they are becoming actively involved in the capture of arms. For example, on 17 January, at 0230 a four-man detachment of our troops at the Megri station was attacked by some people who seriously wounded two of the soldiers. The attackers disappeared taking a Kalashnikov assault rifle with them.

Within the last 48 hours we have had reports of several attacks on the militia rayon departments and military depots. The terrorists now have in their possession hundreds of rifles and many automatic weapons.

[Binev] How are the internal troops armed?

[Smyslov] The units are transported by air; for that reason the officers and soldiers carry only their personal weapons and means of individual protection. As for military hardware, three convoys transporting it have been "blocked" in the area of the city of Gyandzha (Kirovabad).

[Binev] How many troops have been sent to this "hot spot?"

[Smyslov] Over 10,000 now.

[Binev] Are there any victims among the civilians?

[Smyslov] I cannot give you the exact number but there were several dozen victims.

[Binev] What about your soldiers?

[Smyslov] One officer, Lieutenant Tsimbalov was killed and two officers, Pavlov and Spiridonov were wounded. In addition, over 10 more were wounded and four are missing. About the latter we are talking with the Azeri People's Front. They might be somewhere around Khanlar.

[Binev] The Western media announced that the terrorists have Stingers in their possession. Is this true?

[Smyslov] No, it is not; but they are being actively used for shooting at ground targets which can also cause a much damage. [sentence as published]

[Binev] Is it true that even helicopters are being used now?

[Smyslov] Yes, it is so. The helicopters are owned by the civil aviation and are equipped for transporting cargo. We have learned about instances of them being used to transport people and weapons from the Erevan airport "Eribuni." There were instances of shooting at Azeri villages from unidentified helicopters.

[Binev] Have the militia and internal troops been attacked with the purpose of commandeering their hardware?

[Smyslov] More than once. They managed to recapture the stolen tanks and to destroy two APC's [armored personnel carriers] that were taken earlier by the terrorists. Now the fighters have four unarmed APC's taken from the local DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force, and Navy]

[Binev] The media has reported that the Armenian fighters are using the uniforms of the internal troops. How did they get them?

[Smyslov] First, there are many former military among them and they kept their uniforms. Second, shortly before these events the Voentorg [military store] in Stepanakert received large amounts of military uniforms. I do not know what happened to them.

[Binev] What help is provided to you by the militia?

[Smyslov] In some cases they display nationalist tendencies. But in general we act together in combat.

[Binev] Do the Armenian or Azeri armed groups try to get to the NKAO?

[Smyslov] They do, constantly. Entire detachments take positions along our cordons. They start shooting at each other. The attacks on our sub-units became more frequent. The villages are surrounded by trenches and barricades; there are guards on around-the-clock watches on both sides.

[Binev] So, they have some military organization?

[Smyslov] Yes, they do and it is very precisely structured according to every rule of military science.

[Binev] Are you in control of roads, bridges, and tunnels?

[Smyslov] Not all of them, by far. The approaches to the main roads are occupied by their trucks full of gravel prepared to dump it on the roads.

[Binev] What is the situation for women and children?

[Smyslov] Both sides are trying to involve them in action; they put them in the front rows at any confrontation with the law-enforcing units.

[Binev] Are you disarming the fighters?

[Smyslov] Many of them have already been handed over to the law-enforcing officers. We are confiscating weapons by the thousands from the population. But in some cases we have to let people keep their nonautomatic and nonrifled weapons because of the situation.

[Binev] What is happening to the military families?

[Smyslov] In Gyandzha the representatives of the Azeri People's Front presented the military helicopter pilots with this ultimatum: If they participate in the military actions, their families will be the first to die at the fighters' hand. Many, of course, have left the area, but there are people who have nowhere to go.

[Binev] What is the position of the regional media?

[Smyslov] It seems quite undetermined at times; they call on the people to solve the conflict by political means, but at the same time they also stir up unhealthy nationalist emotions.

[Binev] Do the representatives of the People's Fronts take any part in the acts of terrorism?

[Smyslov] We do not have that kind of information. But they constantly speak at the meetings after which the crowds become capable of any atrocity like, for instance, today's pogroms and violence in Baku. They always threaten the internal troops with violence.

[Binev] What about supplies for the military?

[Smyslov] They do become a problem. I just had a call from the USSR Ministry of Railways and I was told that two of our trains with nonmilitary supplies and food for the soldiers are being held at the station of Udzhary in Azerbaijan. The local authorities deny us even bread.

'Front' Spreading Negative Sentiments

LD2201155290 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—By TASS Special correspondents:

The situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia remains tense. According to a spokesman for the Soviet Interior Ministry, activists of the Azerbaijani People's Front attempted to spread anti-Army and anti-Russian sentiments by addressing numerous rallies during the past twenty-four hours.

Thousands of Baku residents today took part in the funeral of people killed on January 19-20. According to the military commandant of the Azerbaijani capital, Lieutenant-General Vladimir Dubinyak, 83 people perished during that period. The figure includes 14 servicemen and members of their families.

Television is off the air in Baku. central and local newspapers have not appeared, so radio remains the only source of information.

In his address today to city residents, the military commandant described rumours that thousands were killed and that attacks were launched against ethnic Russians in the city as a "downright lie."

Not a single Baku resident was killed over the past two days, Dubinyak said.

The commandant also denied rumours that an arms and munition depot had been seized by servicemen permanently billeted in the city, who then put up resistance to arriving troops.

On Sunday night, he said, a group of Azerbaijani people's deputies and representatives of the public visited the military facility and saw that these rumours were groundless.

The commandant emphasised that rumours are used by provocateurs, specifically through the radio station Azadlyk (Freedom), to heighten tension and provoke a fresh flare-up of violence.

The commandant called on city residents not to give in to provocations. "The forces of law-and-order are doing everything to protect each Soviet citizen," he pointed out.

The evacuation of refugees is continuing. 214 Armenians and 310 members of servicemen's families were taken out of the republic during the past day. The number of refugees topped 13,000 after the Baku January 11 pogroms.

175 goods trains are at a standstill on the Azerbaijani railway, including 132 trains bound for Armenia. 16 freight trains proceeded to Armenia along the Transcaucasian railway via Dadakhlo Junction.

Mass nationalist rallies were held in several other towns of the republic. A rally, organised by the Azerbaijani People's Front in Pushkino, ended in mass disorders. A monument to Vladimir Lenin was destroyed. The premises of the district party committee were gutted, and an attempt was made to seize weapons in a local police precinct.

The situation remains disquieting in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Highways remain blocked. Goods trains have not arrived at Stepanakert's railway station.

In nationalist programmes beamed by Shusha's television, leaders of the Azerbaijani people's front openly call for struggle against the Armenian population and insult party and state leaders.

In order to seize weapons, militants launched attacks at various facilities in Armenia over the past twenty-four days.

High-ranking Armenian and Azerbaijani party and state officials had a meeting in the village of Yeraskh, Armenia's Ararat district. It was attended by representatives of the Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops.

It was decided to withdraw armed groups from the border areas inside both republics, end shoot-outs and clashes, restore damaged communications along the railways and open train traffic, and unblock the highway leading to the village of Kerki, Ilyuchevsk district of the Nakhijevan Autonomous Republic.

USSR Defense, Interior Ministers in Baku

LD2201220890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Presenter] First have we a roundup from the Caucasus which is in a state of civil war, more precisely from Baku. Our special correspondent is elemer csak:

[Begin Csak recording] [Passage omitted] Mikhail Gorbachev is dealing directly with settling the crisis. This emerges from a statement by the Azerbaijan premier. As he said, Mutalibov personally met the general secretary at the weekend, and he asked for his mediation in the interests of immediately restoring the republic's sovereignty. Otherwise, the gravity of the situation is shown not only by Gorbachev's personal mediation, but also by what I have just learned: Apart from Defense Minister Yazov, the interior minister is also in Baku. Indeed, according to well-informed sources, Colonel General Dubinyak, who is the military commander, is being helped by General Gromov who was in Afghanistan, with his advice. [passage omitted]

Varennikov Discusses Baku Operations

PM2001170090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Telephone report by special correspondents Viktor Litovkin and Sergey Mostovshchikov from Baku, incorporating interview with Army General V. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Ground Forces: "Baku, 20 January"]

[Text] 20 January, 1030 hours—Outside our windows we can hear submachinegun fire, and the noise of sirens carries from the port district.... Events in the city have deteriorated sharply and have now developed into a real armed conflict. Late at night a landing was made on Ukraine Square—at that moment there was no other way for the troops to get into the city. Now, through the haze, you can see hovering helicopters dropping pamphlets. They contain an appeal to the population to remain calm, an appeal to end the armed struggle. This is apparently the only way the army can communicate with the population today: The television is not working, the radio is silent....

Soviet Army troop units have been brought into Baku. But it was extremely difficult to do this: Obstacles were placed in the soldiers' path—trucks across the roads, barriers across the highways.... Salvos were fired from the roadsides. They were shooting at those who had come to safeguard people's lives. Unfortunately, casualties occurred even then....

Now we quote a TASS report: "Life in the city has been paralyzed in recent days by means of blackmail, disinformation, threats, the whipping up of hysteria, direct actions to blockade transport arteries and government buildings, and the seizure of the radio and television center, as well as control of the movements of transport and people, including the checking of citizens' documents, and other unlawful acts. There have been persistent calls for the overthrow of soviet power and reprisals against all who disagree with this view, and their families. The 'People's Front' of the capital of Azerbaijan has proclaimed a special situation [rezhim osobogo polozheniya]. A critical situation has been created.

"In these conditions the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was forced to resort to an extreme measure for which the law provides—the declaration of a state of emergency in Baku."

One of the first tasks in the last 24 hours was to clear the blockade from the military camps and go to meet the units that were approaching the city from the direction of the airfield. Then, by joint efforts, it will be possible to mount guard on the main targets in the Azerbaijani capital—state institutions and enterprises—and to stop the looting of stores and apartments and ensure proper order in the interests of the majority of the population.

Army General V. Varennikov, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Ground Forces, comments on events.

[Varennikov] First of all, this is not an army operation. Our first actions were aimed at providing vital support for the Salyanskiye Barracks, which were blockaded by extremists. Yes, we had to open retaliatory fire in response to the militants' salvos. But that measure was, I repeat, forced upon us: For several days the aggressive forces had failed to respond to all our requests and persuasion. Furthermore they had completely blocked all access to the military camps with heavy trucks. There was a total blockade, as your newspaper has already reported. Meanwhile extremists were installing machineguns on the roofs of nearby buildings, including heavy-caliber guns. They placed searchlights there. Snipers took up their positions alongside.... Well, when military subunits started leaving the camp, the armed groupings opened fire. But you saw that for yourselves. You saw the dead and wounded soldiers, too....

[Question] You are talking about armed groupings. But are they significant enough for regular Soviet Army troops to enter into combat against them?

[Varennikov] USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] troops are primarily involved in actions to suppress the armed groupings; we are only giving them assistance, trying to lift the blockade from our own military camps, and clearing the approaches to the airfields and other very important facilities, including military facilities.

As for the real threat from these groups, such a threat does indeed exist. To our regret, the militants are armed not only with hunting rifles and home-made grenades, but also modern submachineguns, machineguns, and even grenade-throwers. There are cases of extremists using modern technology to jam our radio communications. That tells you a great deal. Do not forget: The state border with Iran has been demolished over a distance of some 800 km. Thousands of people have recently been crossing it, in both directions. It cannot be ruled out that this channel has been used to supply these groupings with weapons and ammunition, as well as means of communication and jamming systems. The extremists' actions and their maneuvers through the city and the rayons indicate that they have prepared carefully for everything. In all these actions one can perceive the political objectives set by the extremist section of the Azerbaijan People's Front. The tense situation that now rests on nationalist positions is only a cover and a means of maintaining control of a population blinded by nationalism. In effect these forces, having destabilized the situation, have accused the local organs of being incapable of exercising leadership, and have now decided to overthrow these powers. The logical next step is to declare secession from the Soviet Union. Clearly, "moves" of this kind are against the interests of all the country's peoples, and in the first instance the Azerbaijani people.

[Question] How did events develop?

[Varennikov] I have already said that we called upon those who had erected barricades at our camps to disperse and take away their vehicles. Otherwise we would be forced to remove them ourselves. We also warned that all the responsibility for the consequences that could arise in the event of the use of weapons by the extremists would be on their consciences. However, the calls for prudence did not produce the desired results.

It was necessary to form detachments to seize these barricades and clear the roads of abandoned machinery and barriers of stones. But the extremists opened fire, and there were losses among the servicemen.... After that, we were forced to undertake countermeasures. Regrettably, the ringleaders resorted to a vile tactic—they got their militants drunk. When one of the extremists' casualties was given medical assistance by our doctors, he admitted that they had been drinking for 3 days.

I should point out that the servicemen of the Baku garrison showed exceptional restraint: Not reacting to provocations, they refrained as far as possible from the use of weapons. They opened warning fire only to protect sites or life itself. If the attacks did not stop, they fired only against those who were threatening them.

[Question] What is the situation now?

[Varennikov] The blockades have been cleared from the military camps, the obstacles have been removed from the city's main highways, and USSR MVD units are continuing to adopt measures against aggressive armed detachments of militants. The main targets in the republican capital are under guard. We have been forced to evacuate the officers' families, among whom there have already been casualties. Totally innocent people have died. I wish to express sincere condolences to the relatives of the dead and injured.

We hope that the people of Azerbaijan will make the rampaging extremists stop the bloodshed. As for the servicemen of the Soviet Army and the MVD internal troops, they have never been and never will be advocates of violence. [Varennikov ends]

How did it begin? We are at one of the Baku internal troops units, which is blockaded by picketers. At 0700 hours on 19 January about 40 people gathered at the checkpoint, and it is noteworthy that there were far more women than men. Virtually all of them were young people, it was to emerge later, from the nearby hosiery and knitwear combine.

Standing around is boring, and the pickets' mood changes from time to time. At first, a decision is announced to the unit commander—we will not let anyone out. A truck with a trailer is driven up to the gates: It cannot get out. After much persuasion, it is agreed that the truck will be allowed out to fetch linen for the soldiers. It is thoroughly searched, and allowed to drive out into the city.

A couple of hours later, for some reason, the rules of the blockade are slackened. "We will allow people to leave the unit. But only two, no more," the pickets say. Two correspondents from NA POSTU, the newspaper of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Directorate for the North Caucasus and Transcaucasus, Senior Warrant Officer V. Utenkov and Captain I. Kubyshev, come out of the gates. Their film is exposed and their dictaphone cassette is taken away and burned before their eyes. "We do not believe the newspapers, they lie," the crowd explains. True, they do then offer the journalists R6 as compensation for the damage.

However, suspicions do not only extend to the press. The representatives of the hosiery and knitwear factory search the unit's officers on the way out, and the officers, gritting their teeth, endure this humiliating procedure: At that time a strict order was in force: Do not enter into conflict with the population.

Taking advantage of the fact that the state of blockade does not yet rule out the possibility of talking on the telephone, we call the newspaper of the Azerbaijan People's Front, AZADLY (FREEDOM), whose publication the Azerbaijan People's Front had great difficulty in achieving. The newspaper began to be published in December, and the print run has reached 200,000 copies. Deputy editor Aslan-ogly, a member of the Azerbaijan People's Front, comes to the telephone.

[Question] Arif, is it true that there has been a split in the ranks of your People's Front?

[Aslan-ogly] I would not call it a split. A normal process of political formation of our organization is in progress. It is true that opinions have now become divided. Some people are prepared to enter into talks with the authorities in order to resolve our problems by parliamentary means. Others do not want that. I am among the former. But I must say that dialogue with the republic's present leadership is useless—it has totally compromised itself.

[Question] What is the ultimate goal of the Azerbaijan People's Front?

[Aslan-ogly] To secure a victory for democracy in Azerbaijan. The curfew and state of emergency will not allow us to hold normal elections. Leaders will again be appointed for us from above, and we do not want that.

[Question] Tell me, Arif, do you happen to know why the central and republican newspapers were not printed in Baku on 19 January?

[Aslan-ogly] Because the central newspapers do not reflect events in Azerbaijan objectively.... The republican newspapers would not allow us to publish an Azerbaijan People's Front appeal.... [Aslan-ogly ends]

After talking to Arif we discovered the content of that appeal. The pamphlet says, in particular, that unless the state of emergency is lifted on the republic's territory by 1200 on 19 January 1990, preplanned measures will be adopted.

20 January, night—Buses are driving around the city. Someone shouts into a megaphone, people get into the buses and go somewhere. At about 0200 hours the order comes: Everyone is to arm himself and take up perimeter defense positions. In the event of a direct attack on the unit, shoot without warning. We look out of the windows. A few blocks away, submachinegun fire is taking place. You can see tracer bullets disappearing into the sky.

20 January, 1200. Shooting continues in the city....

20 January, 1515. The latest report from Baku by this time is: According to Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic MVD figures, 40 civilians and 8 military have been killed....

Soldiers on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border Situation

LD2201232390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Igor Minayev video report from the Armenia-Azerbaijan border on 22 January; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Minayev] Did people previously think that as they were crossing from the territory of Armenia to the territory of Azerbaijan—that as they did so they were crossing a border? Of course not, of course they didn't think so. And even the concept of a border, of its armed guards, controlled crossing points, document checks, identity cards...all this now sounds at the least strange, stupid, and bizarre when one is speaking not about two separate states but about the two union republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Nevertheless we are on the territory of the Armenian village of Yerashk—a border village—and farther over there beind the barrier where the combat vehicles of the infantry are standing is the Azerbaijani village of Sadarak. [video shows border crossing, uniformed men standing guard with automatic weapons, light tanks, interview with two soldiers]

[A.G.Panasyuk] It's a real struggle, with the use of all kinds of firearms, rockets, they've been firing these hail control guns both from that side and from this one. Everything was...it can be said that it was a real war.

[O.V.Silkov] One can add that the population of both republics lives in great fear—both sides.

[Minayev] A small winery on Azerbaijani territory has turned into an important military target—a target for hail control installations, automatic bursts. No one has probably calculated the damage. It's not a time for figures. That would be simply blasphemy. And may God go with it—with the wine—when the blood of Armenians and Azerbaijanis is flowing. The only one who is guilty is the person who fired first and stirred up this whole mess. We were told by both Armenian and Azerbaijanis: We are only defending ourselves. [video shows various outbuildings of the winery, damaged and blackened walls, wine pouring from a bullet hole in a storage tank onto a floor covered with debris and puddles of red wine]

Instead of seeking compromises, a way out, people are looking for enemies and are finding them—neighbors with whom they earlier lived in friendship and accord, with no mention of nationality. [video shows groups of men in streets, some in civilian and some in military attire]

How easy it is to light the bonfire of national enmity and how difficult it is to put it out. The most difficult thing of all, of course, is taking the first step. [video shows man getting out of a jeep with several others accompanied by uniformed men, all of whom walk toward a small brick-built building]

Here is such a step toward mutual understanding, and perhaps toward reconciliation. For more than 4 hours in this unprepossessing little house on the outskirts of Yerashk, talks involving the military leadership continued between representatives of both sides. Journalists were not allowed into the house. But there is no room for offense here now. The discussion ahead was too difficult, responsible and complex. And that is how it is.

[A.D.Dzhalilov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Oblast Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party] At the present stage, we are satisfied with the course of the talks, and on a reciprocal basis all the necessary measures will now be taken in order to halt this madness, and in order for peace to prevail in this land.

[Minayev] For the second week in Yerevan, twice daily, there is a meeting of the operational headquarters for the extraordinary situation of the Central Committee of the CP, of the Supreme Soviet, and the government of Armenia. The most recent urgent reports on the state of affairs in the republic are received here. [video shows meeting in progress, shots of radio receiving equipment]

As was noted today, the situation as a whole is normal. The situation is being controlled by the authorities. There are alarming facts too.

[U.S. Arutyunyan, minister of internal affairs of the Armenian SSR] Even geographial muddles are being mentioned....as if they were harmless facts. Well, it is mentioned that [pointing to newspaper article] the Azerbaijan village of Ovtashen is being blockaded by Armenian guerrillas. In the first place, this village is Armenian, only I don't know why it is then that Armenians are blockading an Armenian village. Or, a day earlier, it was reported that Azerbaijanis had attacked the Armenian village of Sadarak. Well, in the first place, this is an Azerbaijani village and it goes without saying that they could not attack their own village. Do you understand? A very loose grasp of the facts taking place in our real life leads to new clashes. It's like the spark before the explosion.

[Minayev] Have you been receiving reports about incidents of attacks on militia bodies?

[Arutyunyan] Yesterday there was an attack on the Kafanskiy rayon Department of Internal Affairs where automatic training weapons were seized, and there was an attack on the Dzhermukskiy city department.

[Minayev] In the night between 20-21 January a crowd of more than 100 people, young people armed with hunting weapons, burst into the building of the town district Department of Internal Affairs of the town of Abovyan. [video shows Minayev interviewing militia official beside what appears to be a firearms cabinet]

[Minayev] Four pistols are missing. How would you comment?

[D.A. Adabashyan, deputy chief of the town district Department of Internal Affairs] Well, after we carried out a stock-check, it showed that four pistols were missing.

[Minayev] These people are already returning them. More than 1,000 firearms have been handed over to the militia department in the 26-commissars district today. I think that these pictures, taken by our camera people will not evoke false rumors—truthful, objective information is perhaps the main thing. [video shows man carrying several firearms and placing them on a pile with others, then Major General M.S. Surkov, USSR People's Deputy]

[Surkov] Today we...I think that the media and all of us have to be very exact in our expressions, very exact about dates, formulations and timescales, because a great deal of work is being done in talks with informal organizations, with the neighboring republic, and spokespersons of the official authorities, and any incautious word evokes very negative emotions. [video shows radio receiving equipment]

TRUD Account of Fighting in Baku

PM2101153090 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jan 90 p 4

[V. Belykh report under general heading "Anxious Days and Nights: TRUD's Special Correspondents Report": "Baku"]

[Text] There are armored carriers in the streets of Baku. Shots can be heard. The wail of factory hooters carries constantly over the city. There are military helicopters in the air.

...Soldiers in helmets, carrying submachineguns, came out of the gates of the sports school where the internal troops unit from which I am reporting is stationed. The militants' barrier outside the building was removed. A heavy MAZ truck that was blocking the entrance was pushed to one side. Their shields clattering, a string of subunits gradually cordoned off 26 Baku Commissars Park. Someone in the crowd shouted through a megaphone: "Soldiers! Go back to your barracks! Otherwise the national defense council will take no responsibility for the consequences."

A "Volga" suddenly flew over at high speed. A long salvo was fired from it. The bullets ricocheted off the tarmac and there was a sound of breaking glass. The victim was...a passing Zhiguli. The Azerbaijani driver was wounded.

...Eventually the park was surrounded. The soldiers lay down on the tarmac because of the frequent shots. Supplementary units of internal troops were due to arrive here now. Their approach was "hinted at" by gunshot reports, submachinegun and machinegun salvos, and grenade explosions: Detachments of Azerbaijan People's Front militants had gone "into action."

Incidentally, I was able to visit the headquarters of the People's Front National Defense Council, which has installed itself in the Cultural Institute at the "Leytenant Shmidt" Plant, literally a few hours before the events began. As I approached the building I noticed a gathering of buses and cars. Groups of young people were standing around, strange as it may seem, in Soviet Army uniforms, seamen of some kind. I particularly noticed some strong-looking guys in camouflage jackets with Azerbaijan People's Front armbands.

"There are more than 100,000 militia fighters [boyeviki-opolchentsy] in our ranks," Nuraddin Abdullayev eagerly told me, introducing himself as the council's chief of staff. "They are in Baku and in all the republic's settlements. If necessary we can send self-defense detachments from one region to another. In the event of critical situations we will find a fitting response and all the necessary means to carry it out...."

Indeed, the terrible response was not long in coming, in the form of shots, explosions, and tracer bullets in the night sky.

It was hardest for the internal troops advancing from the Baladzhara district. The journey, for which a maximum of 1 hour was allowed, took more than 4 hours. The road was blocked by constant barriers of trucks and buses. The extremists maintained intensive submachinegun fire from around corners and from roofs. Grenades and Molotov cocktails were thrown at the soldiers. The unit's deputy commander for political affairs was hit on the head by a Molotov cocktail, and he burst into flames. A company commander also received severe burns. Some soldiers were wounded. Private Andrey Kuzmin was killed by a salvo from a roof. The bullet hit him right in the face. Cutting off a life that had not really begun, in his 20th year. Covered in blood, he fell onto the cold tarmac of a Baku street, thousands of km from his native Cherepovets. In spite of everything, at the cost of incredible risks, at the cost of their own health, the soldiers fulfilled the order—to return fire for fire only in

extremis. Who knows how it would all have ended, if Soviet Army subunits equipped with powerful hardware had not arrived to help....

At last, the new subunits gradually began to approach the park that is famous all over the Union—symbol of internationalism. Almost all of the subunits had wounded men....

The servicemen who broke out of the Nakhichevan Hotel had been stuck there for 3 days, blockaded. Even bread supplies were cut off. There were frequent shots near the hotel. When the soldiers came out, a dump truck drove toward them at high speed. They managed to shoot at its wheels. As soon as they reached Tbilisskiy Prospekt, the militants sent a fire engine toward them. Again they shot at the wheels.... As they made their way to the assembly point, they were under constant fire; people were throwing stones, explosives, and smoke charges at them from roofs and balconies. Near Leytenant Shmidt Street there was a large-scale clash with a group of thugs. As a result two soldiers received internal injuries, another suffered cuts to the face and damage to an eye, another had his shield crushed by an ax....

Today the city is divided into several commandants' districts. We are bound for Nosimanskaya district. Bristling with the barrels of the submachineguns of special troops sitting on the armor, the armored carrier moves cautiously through the streets. Your shoulders ache from wearing a bulletproof vest continuously for 16 hours, and your eyes constantly look for the isolated figures of possible snipers on the roofs. Here is the commandant's office. In every room, in the corridors, on the floor, packed closely together, soldiers sleep in bulletproof vests, fully armed, on their shields. They have an opportunity at least to doze for a few hours. Even if someone accidentally trips over them, they do not wake up. But soon, it will be back onto the streets of Baku....

"Our telephone is ringing almost continuously," Major Chirebunko, political deputy at the commandant's office, tells me. "Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, sometimes even Azerbaijanis appeal to us. They ask for help and complain about threats. Only recently a report came in that a crowd has gathered on Lenin Prospekt with black flags and knives, and is trying to provoke an internal troops subunit into a clash. We arrived in time and managed to prevent a conflict."

Baku, the republic, and the whole country are now living through difficult days. Let these days be on the conscience of those who, despite everything, kindled this shameful and terrible conflict.

Instigators of Tensions Arrested in Azerbaijan

NC2301060790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0404 GMT 23 Jan 90

[AZERINFORM report]

[Text] The state banners of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic are flying over the party and oblast committee buildings in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA KARABAKH is being published as the organ of the party executive committee of the autonomous oblast.

The Committee for State Security and Ministry of Internal Affairs have told an AZERINFORM correspondent that Azerbaijan's law enforcement bodies have arrested the individuals who tried to aggravate interethnic relations in connection with the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on the declaration of a state of emergency in the NKAO, Stepanakert, and various rayons.

Azerbaijan KGB Issues Appeal to Populace

NC2201201690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1820 GMT 22 Jan 90

['Appeal' by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Committee for State Security to the people of Azerbaijan—read by announcer]

[Text] Here is the appeal made by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committee for State Security [KGB] to the people of Azerbaijan:

The people of Azerbaijan are experiencing difficult days. The republic [words indistinct]. The worsening of the [word indistinct] may create chaos and anarchy. An unpredictable incident may result in death. Completely innocent people may die.

We, the (?employees) of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB, mourn along with the people and convey our condolences with deep grief to the families of those who have died. We are confident that this tragic situation was provoked by those opposed to Azerbaijan SSR's existing in peace.

At this difficult time, we appeal to the Azerbaijanis to urge them to exercise patience, to display [words indistinct], and to avoid heeding provocations and causing [word indistinct] victims.

We call on the military servicemen to urge them to display the most [words indistinct] of the Soviet soldiers. We, the [word indistinct] of Azerbaijan, have done everything possible to maintain the republic's sovereignty, to safeguard the republic's territorial integrity, and to resolutely obstruct extremism. We shall continue to do so.

Baku Television Center Damaged by 'Terrorism'

LD2201233690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2112 GMT 22 Jan 90

[From the "TV News Service" program, presented by Yuriy Rostov]

[Text] Our correspondents are currently working in Baku in very difficult conditions, with the television center in

Baku being damaged as a result of an act of terrorism, and at the moment there is no possibility of sending out a reportage by satellite. You can now see a clip from a video sent to us by plane today. [Video shows aerial shot of Baku, people standing outside building with suitcases, soldier holding little girl by the hand, camera zooming in to big crowd of people at what appears to be funeral meeting]

NKAO Supply Problems Denied

PM2201151190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 90 p 1

[Ye. Zhirnov report in response to criticism by Deutsche Welle [FRG state-supported radio] under the rubric: "Dialogue. Ask Questions!": "How are Supplies Being Delivered to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?"—first paragraph is radio-intercept from Deutsche Welle radio station]

[Text] "The Azerbaijanis have stopped over 220 freight trains on the approaches to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Of course, this throws some light on the professional qualities of Soviet railroad officials. Knowing about the blockade, how is it possible to dispatch trainload after trainload of perishable goods that are in short supply elsewhere? And what a bad state the Soviet air transport system must be in if they are not able to send supplies to Nagorno-Karabakh by air."

"That is a lie from start to finish," V. Butko, deputy minister of railroads, said on hearing the text of this intercept. "They have almost doubled the number of blockaded trains. They probably do not see the difference between the USSR and the FRG railroads. Every day we have around 14,000 cars going to Armenia alone, and these take an average of 7-8 days to get there, while construction timber from the North to the Far East takes weeks. We cannot have that amount of prior notice about forthcoming aggravations of the Transcaucasus situation.

"And the information about the food is clearly intended to create panic among the population. All perishable goods are in refrigerated carriages and all these all are operating—so far not a single gram of meat has gone bad.

"And another thing. It is not just the Azerbaijanis that are blocking the track. A large part of the road between Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] which passes through Armenian territory is blocked by the Armenians. No one is in the right in this conflict."

The pilots were no less confused. As the Ministry of Civil Aviation Central Air Traffic Control Administration reported, every day on the Yerevan-Stepanakert route, 10-12 trips are made instead of the scheduled 4, and as many flights can be made both there and to Baku as are needed to satisfy all the requests of organizations and the population. Aeroflot even delivers goods on the orders of the Ministry of Trade. Up to 20 tonnes of food are supplied from Yerevan on some days.

Work is continuing uninterruptedly on transporting refugees to Armenia.

Ye. Kryuchkov, member of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply's Operational Headquarters for Supplies to NKAO and department chief at the Military Transport Aviation Headquarters, gave us the most detailed information about food supplies to Nagorno-Karabakh.

"The headquarters for supplies to the oblast has been operating since 5 December 1989. From that day through 21 December, when the railroad blockade was suspended, 683.8 tonnes of food and 79 tonnes of household and hand soap were transported by military transport aircraft. The cargo was transported by heavy "Il-76" aircraft to Gyandzhu (Kirovabad), then by military helicopters to Stepanakert, and then 14 civil aviation helicopters with Armenian and Azerbaijani crews distributed it around the oblast's rayons.

"As a member of the operational headquarters, I know that since 21 December standard supplies for the whole of the first quarter of 1990 have been transported by land to NKAO."

Rumors of Hundreds Dead in Baku Denied

LD2201174190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Leonid Lazarevich report from Baku]

[Text] Today Baku said farewell to the people of the city who died during the shooting when the troops entered and during subsequent clashes. According to reports of the military commandant, 69 citizens of Baku died during the 2 days. Hundreds of thousands of people gathered in the square to see them off on their final journey. There are rumors in the city about hundreds of dead. They were resolutely denied today by the military commandant. No newspapers are being published in the city, there is no television, and the radio has become the only source of information. To be honest, I cannot understand how the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee can reconcile this. It is possible to bring some newspapers in from other towns and distribute them without charge.

I don't know what the way out should be, but a way out must be found. Today they have been saying in the city that some Azerbaijani graduates from the Combined Troops College have seized weapons and are showing resistance to the troops. A group of people's deputies has visited the spot and they said the rumor is groundless. According to my information, the barracks was fired on from the roofs of houses by guerilla snipers. The press service of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry has promised to give me the chance to go to the spot tomorrow.

On the radio today I heard a speech by Comrade Mutalibov, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. He reported that the republican leaders have visited Comrade Gorbachev in Moscow and discussed the situation in Baku. Among other things, they spoke about the prospects for the withdrawal of the troops and ensuring law and order throughout the republic.

NKAO Committee Head Paints 'Gloomy' Picture

90US0383A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, 10 Jan 90 p 10

[Interview with A. Volskiy, chairman of Special Administration Committee of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, by M. Salganik: "Karabakh: Stalemate"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Salganik] Arkadiy Ivanovich, the USSR Supreme Soviet on 28 November adopted the resolution "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]." However, it became clear in just a few days that the measures had normalized nothing, and the situation became so complex that people's deputies from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the NKAO asked to postpone the scheduled discussion of the issue at the Supreme Soviet session and went home. We know now that the events in the NKAO are taking a dramatic turn and, if we call a spade a spade, the two republics are on the brink of a war. Were you prepared for such a response?

[Volskiy] We expected something of this nature. However, at issue here is not the resourcelessness or incorrectness of the decision of the Supreme Soviet but the position of the parties: They have no desire to listen to each other, they are not looking for a reasonable way out of the situation, for a balance of interests, but instead continue to stubbornly aspire to their victory—each side to its own victory. If both parties persist in their political ambitions (and I am afraid that this is happening) the resolution, of course, may fail to be carried out.

To my mind, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is a stalemate. An impasse has emerged when the chess players should acknowledge a draw and begin a new game. However, people are not chess pieces; in Karabakh, every "move" by the parties means pain and suffering, the shattered lives and ruined mentality of tens and tens of thousands of living people rather than a contest of wits. Nonetheless, the parties are refusing to acknowledge a stalemate though it is apparent that neither party can win. Further confrontation will only result in more bloodshed. The conflict is profoundly rooted in history; this is common knowledge. However, history is something that has already occurred; it is impossible to try and correct at present what has already been accomplished in the course of history. We live in the present and a way out should be sought only proceeding from the reality of the present day, being mindful of the fact that on the scales we have people, their lives, and their fate.

Unfortunately, it is exactly the human dimension of the problem that is ignored; it has been eclipsed by ethnic considerations. This is the reason for the implacability and particular cruelty of all interethnic conflicts, not just the one in the NKAO. "Victory at any price"—this is the operational slogan for a majority of the leaders of the movement for "national freedom" and sovereignty due to which they are morally prepared to condemn their peoples to sacrifices.

Who is the enemy from one of the sides is calling for protecting its sovereignty, even with weapons? In the name of what is the other side calling for struggle to the victorious end? What price, what damage to the moral health of the nation should this victory entail? It is hard to believe that people do not give any thought to this issue in our country where ignoring the great value of human life costs our society so dearly and still did not bring happiness! The main thing needed is to stop treating each other like enemies. The Azeri side should acknowledge that the population of Nagorno-Karabakh had grounds for social protest. The Karabakh issue represents a natural and justified movement of the people to autonomy and self-government and concern for preserving their originality rather than a result of sinister designs. In this matter, as Lenin taught, the republic should rather "over do" concessions to the small people rather than "not do enough." However, the Armenians as well should stop treating Azerbaijan as an enemy which is totally committed to eliminating Armenians on its land; they should understand that perestroyka gives an opportunity to correct the distortions of the past, including in the sphere of interethnic relations, and build them on a new, humane basis.

[Salganik] The Special Administration Committee which you head could continue its peace-making mission while the parties in this conflict continue searching for a complicated path to a reasonable agreement. However, you were the one to support the demand of both parties to discontinue its activities. Why?

[Volskiy] I will try to explain this. On the whole, I have spent 500 days and nights in the NKAO. The number of people I have met cannot be estimated. For the first half-year, I was there alone, with an assistant, as the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Our function was to mediate, and mediators command respect in the Orient. Our reasonable advice and arguments were heeded. On some days, we had up to 10 speeches and meetings. When both Baku and Yerevan began to boil over in November of last year, we succeeded in maintaining a relatively quiet situation. To be sure, the wave of mass hysteria did not pass the NKAO by. However, we had no pogroms, outrages upon the people, and vandalism of the kind which raged in these November days in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

In January 1989, the Special Administration Committee was formed, and our work became different in nature. The committee took over the powers of local organs of

authority—the executive committee of the soviet of people's deputies and the bureau of the oblast committee of the party. In practice, this meant that we eight persons were to shoulder the burden embracing the business of the entire autonomous oblast and all the responsibilities including everyday concerns—providing foodstuffs, supplies, and so on.

Was this decision correct? As of then, it was. The oblast authorities clearly did not control the situation. They could no longer prevent the escalation of the conflict and raised the issue of resigning themselves. The Special Administration Committee was conceived as a tugboat called upon to pull the oblast from the waters of stagnation to the rapids of perestroyka.

Believe me, my life has never been easy, but neither I nor my staff have ever before encountered such overloads. It would not be too bad if it were work; we are used to this but not to the psychological burden.... We had to ensure the safety of the residents of the oblast first of all; we had to gain the confidence of both the Armenians and the Azeris; we had to undermine favoritism and nepotism which are entrenched there, say nothing of the moral degradation of some NKAO leading functionaries.

We have succeeded in many endeavors. Over the first half of the year alone, about 300 groups of experts, consultants, and specialists worked in the NKAO at our request. In the socio-economic sphere, the committee has done its job, despite failing to obtain a document on its status which would have set forth its prerogatives and given it a free hand. However, a mistake in principle was made: The people, the population of the NKAO, were clearly not enlisted to a sufficient degree in drawing up the programs for democratizing administration and developing the autonomy, as well as implementing the decisions made. The people remained the object of management whereas they should have been playing the role of a responsible subject. As an organ representing the center, the committee assumed responsibility for meeting the daily needs of the oblast. This promoted the reinforcement of the attitude of dependency: "You have a duty to help us, to allocate, to provide...." Meanwhile, local comrades preferred an observer-from-the-opposition kind of role.

The further it went the worse it got.... The lack of responsibility for ensuring the life and safety of their people prompted local leaders of the Armenian segment of the populace to step up their confrontation with Azerbaijan. The opposing party for some reason believed that the state of emergency amounts to martial law and that the committee has a duty to take advantage of some mythical special powers. Complaints were made of the kind: "What kind of a **special** committee is it that does not order a single extremist shot?" The situation was aggravated by a nationalist hysteria which suppressed all arguments of common sense. Under these conditions, the center which was sincerely trying to part the hostile sides became the "third party" who caught it from both sides.... I still believe that in exceptional cases a form such as special administration can be practiced, for example, when the paralysis of local organs of power is evident or when the power in a multi-ethnic region should for a period of time remain extra-ethnic or, more precisely, international. However, it cannot be a way to resolve a conflict. I would repeat here my definition of the committee as a "tugboat" in political and economic life. However, under any circumstances a committee or a similar organ under a different name will accomplish its tasks if it has the status, funding, resources, and power to use them independently.

[Salganik] The superficial aspect of the issue, the history of the problem, and ethnic relations in the region at present are more or less common knowledge. However, does the conflict have hidden, inner driving forces? How did you take them into account?

[Volskiy] Certainly it does. The struggle of the "shadow economy" for power, for the preservation of the leaders it has promoted, is a mighty driving force. The mafia on both sides has command of tremendous funds and it is fighting for them and for its sphere of influence.

This aspect of the conflict has yet to be analyzed precisely and completely. I believe that the leadership of both republics miscalculated in principle: Having mounted a vigorous assault on the mafia, on the "shadow economy" at the beginning of their activities, they did not have an idea of the actual scope of this threat; the leadership overestimated its potential. The mafia responded by resisting furiously and skillfully exploiting ethnic feelings. The mafia played "the Karabakh card" with particular success. After all, there were objective conditions for a conflict in the region. In general, it is very hard to counteract the rhetoric of the type of "designs on the sacred places of the people," "violations of sovereign rights," and so on.

[Salganik] The development of the conflict has proceeded along vertical lines. All strata of the population and all administrative and political structures have become involved in it. What role does the intelligentsia play in this total confrontation of the two peoples? Does it influence the conscience of the public or do those whom Boris Oleynik recently aptly called "ethnic self-seekers" influence it? What is the role of the clergy?

[Volskiy] Public consciousness is subordinated to the leaders of the fronts—the National Front of Azerbaijan and the AOD, the Armenian Nationwide Movement. Do you know what the tyranny of public opinion is about? It is very difficult to oppose. Besides, the "front-liners," as we call them, resort to the direct intimidation of the representatives of the intellectuals who attempt to quell passions. To be sure, the intelligentsia, both Armenian and Azeri—I mean the people whose names are known to the entire country—cannot endorse bloody terror, cannot but understand the tragic hopelessness of the current turn of events, but they also do not find it in their hearts to oppose the mass psychological stress. Unfortunately, some of the intellectuals of the country who have

taken one side or the other right away, without considering that the life of people would be the price, have behaved irresponsibly.

If you will, "ethnic self-seekers" are hard at work promoting the hysteria. They are people who were unknown quite recently, who have not accomplished anything, and who are now deftly riding the rising tide of ethnic self-assertion. Some call themselves intellectuals, others—representatives of the working class. I would not venture an opinion on what they should actually be considered to be. I know one thing well: They frustrate attempts at a solution at any level by skillfully manipulating the feelings of the people, calling for national unification, appealing to ethnic honor and dignity.

In Stepanakert, there is the rayon called Kirkidzhan. It used to be a settlement; now it is just a city rayon. Azeris and Armenians live there. Kirkidzhan is a hotbed of continuous tension. We invited to a rural club 10 respected old men from each side. The old men demanded armed guards, but they came—dignified old people wearing plenty of orders. They sat down on opposite sides of the table. I stood in front of them and said: Come to your senses, you cannot allow blood to be shed! The old men wept and began to reminisce how they grew up together, how they played together as boys, and how they have lived all of their lives together. It came to the point of rebukes: You did not come to my wife's funeral! You did not congratulate me on my granddaughter's wedding! Later they approached me with a request: Please make sure that both Baku and Yerevan do not interfere here, we will set things right here ourselves!

For a while, everything was quiet. Later, as the old men themselves told me, emissaries came from Armenia and Azerbaijan, and it began: If you make up, the Azeris will not give up the NKAO; if you make up, the Armenians will take the NKAO.... That was it. Now there are shoot-outs almost every day.

This is not an isolated case; there have been many cases like this. It is painful to recall them. Also, there have been the tragedies of mixed families. The number of such families is not expressed in tens or even hundreds. Pressure is brought to bear on these families as well; as a result, the father stays put and the mother with the children wanders somewhere with the refugees and refuses even to accept assistance from her husband! We could not protect such families. However, we helped many of them to move to places where they could live peacefully, work, and send children to school without having to hear that the children have "impure blood."

Well, religion is the most painful issue for us. We pretended far too long that the religious factor in our country does not exist at all. Even now we bashfully keep silent about its role in the NKAO situation. By religion I mean a stable way of life rather than ideology. As far as the supreme members of the hierarchy of both religions are concerned, they subscribe completely and sincerely to religious tolerance. I have had an occasion to meet many of them, Muslims and Christians alike, and I found them to be extremely erudite people morally prepared for their mission. Unfortunately, not all of the clergy is like that; the standard of many rural priests and mullahs is quite low. There is an explanation for this: After a new relationship between the church and the state was established, new parishes began to be set up, and it was necessary to select the clergy quickly. The clergy encountered the same lack of cadres that we have run into during the era of perestroyka. The newly appointed priests eagerly succumb to the nationalist intoxication and lead the people along. Meanwhile, the clergy could have done much to reduce aggressiveness at the everyday level when differences in the way of life of the two religious communities increase to the point of mutual intolerance. Incidentally, "the front-liners" are now betting on the religious factor: Theoreticians from the People's Front of Azerbaijan describe the NKAO problem as the universal opposition of Christianity and Islam. AOD functionaries are not far behind them. Certainly if such attitudes prevail, restructuring in the NKAO will be done for. Everyone understands this. It is no accident that at a meeting of the heads and representatives of religions and religious associations of the USSR, which was held recently at the Monastery of St. Daniil, the use of religious ideas and symbols in political struggle and interethnic conflicts was acknowledged to be impermissible. Recent events are yet another confirmation of my words.

[Salganik] You have collected unique materials from virtually the entire world on ways to eliminate most diverse ethnic-political crises. Have you used this international experience? Has it been useful? Have you found in it analogies with the Karabakh problem?

[Volskiy] Indeed, the material collected is interesting; it prompts one to look at many things from an unexpected perspective. Look at the United States, apparently, a most prosperous country. There are quite a few interethnic problems there! This includes the struggle for ethnic self-preservation, the right to study in one's native language, and the situation with the status of the English language as the state language. The United States has recognized its ethnic variety to be "a positive, constructive force of American society." However, general leadership of the policy in the sphere of ethnic relations does not come about by itself but is provided by the apparatus of the White House where positions exist for special aides to the President for liaison with various ethnic minorities. Quite apart from it, the Commission on Civil Rights scrupulously collects facts on the discrimination of ethnic minorities and prepares annual reports for the President.

[Salganik] Is this done for prevention of sorts and for averting tension?

[Volskiy] Of course. Preventive measures are the most essential point rather than eliminating consequences. Belgium is another instructive example. It is a trilingual country which has managed to turn itself from a unitary

to a federal state with a quite developed autonomy of constituent peoples. For example, there is a special judicial organ in Belgium which is called upon to resolve disputes between the state and ethnic communities. There also is a parliamentary mechanism, the so-called "alarm bell," which must attract the attention of legislative organs to a possible interethnic conflict.

The NKAO situation, perhaps, resembles Ulster more than anything else though here, in the NKAO, very many things have occurred together which are quite unlike anything in the world. This year, it will be 20 years since England sent troops to Ulster, and each new government of England has counted on bringing them back from there. This, however, has not happened exactly due to the implacability and intolerance of the parties. The Protestant majority wants to unite with Northern Ireland, the Catholic minority categorically opposes this, and commando units operate on both sides. As soon as the military contingent is reduced, the carnage flares up immediately. It makes no sense to hold a referendum because its result is a foregone conclusion. In Karabakh, we have the same high aggressiveness on both sides, groups of commandos. The result of a referendum is likewise a foregone conclusion. What will it change in the position of the parties? Understandably, the Armenian majority in the NKAO will vote for joining Armenia and the Azeri minority for the status quo. If a referendum were to be held in all of Azerbaijan this would make no sense. We should be mindful of the prolonged and bloody experience of Ulster.

[Salganik] Have there been cases of resolving ethnic conflicts by force rather than suppressing them anywhere in the world?

[Volskiy] Virtually none. Such conflicts cannot be resolved by force. In this manner, they can only be forced deeper inside, and then only temporarily. However, in certain cases the presence of a neutral third force holds back the extremists, reduces the number of victims, and makes it possible to look for a way out in a diplomatic, civilized manner.

Finally, there is the experience of yet another conflict, in Kosovo. Over there, they tried to resettle the Albanian and Slavic population in different villages, to make villages ethnically "pure." This resulted in virtually nothing: The conflict spread to the periphery, to the borders, but they still have not managed to eliminate tension. They still have to keep troops there.

[Salganik] In the NKAO, the interior troops are also at the disposal of the committee, and this also gives rise to much concern and many questions. How are they used, and to what degree do they restrict the civil rights of the populace?

[Volskiy] The state of emergency provides for a number of purely preventive measures: curfew from 0100 to 0500, patrols in areas with mixed population, checks for the presence of weapons, inspection of transportation vehicles, temporary confiscation of arms from the populace. With regard to rights, we have not disbanded a single organization, formal or informal. We have not forbidden meetings and demonstrations. We have not arrested a single person on political grounds. The powers of all rayon organs of power and soviets of labor collectives at enterprises (except for the elections of directors) remain.

With regard to the status of such troops, I believe that they should definitely report to the center; in this case, they will be able to defend the populace. The interior troops should be nonterritorial and should play approximately the same role as UN troops in "hot spots." The NKAO is more than a hot spot: In the past three months, 369 armed attacks on the details of the interior troops occurred. I can show you pictures in which soldiers stand literally like a live fence between hundreds of excited and armed Azeris and Armenians. On numerous occasions, they have lunged at the soldiers with knives and lances and have thrown homemade grenades from around corners!

This is what is alarming: The interior troops are also exposed because the local militia is either passive or takes the side of "their people" to the point of harboring murderers, refusing to cooperate with the militia of the other republic, and participating in the disturbance itself.

This very point shows that the interior troops cannot be subordinated to a republic. The people's deputies who are now demanding that ethnic army contingents be created are not aware of the possible consequences of these slogans. When I spoke at a session of the Supreme Soviet I said: Imagine, just for a moment imagine that both Armenia and Azerbaijan have their own armies with an air force, missiles, tanks, and whatever else they are supposed to have. The thought scares me....

[Salganik] They do not have their own armies, but they have arms and a good deal of them. What do your experts say—where are they coming from and how can the channels for arrival be shut off?

[Volskiy] In general, there are lots of arms in our country and, in this region, they have always had them. They steal weapons from the militia, the interdepartmental guard service, or raid warehouses. Or else they buy them. "The black market" has been helped by the Afghan war in boosting the supply. Unfortunately, there are many channels. Certainly, measures are being taken to shut them off.

For example, the number of places where automatic weapons are stored has been reduced sharply. The sales of smoothbore arms have been discontinued, and the arms in possession of the population have been temporarily confiscated. However, the arms continue to flow: The conflict between the republics has reached the stage of opposition. Hence, there are helicopters for airlifting commandos, "surface-to-surface" missiles, the behavior

of the militia, and the connivance of the management of enterprises at manufacturing self-made weapons or stealing explosives.

[Salganik] You have now become a recognized authority on interethnic relations in our country. However, were you prepared for the new appointment when you accepted this important post? Why were you the one selected for this mission?

[Volskiy] I don't know. All my life I handled the economy, "the things made of iron," and was far removed from the issue of interethnic relations. They never came to the fore where I lived and worked. My parents grew up in Belorussia, graduated from a university there, and taught at a rural school. It was my fate to end up after college at the Likhachev Plant in Moscow, at the foundry shop. I put in 15 years there, beginning as an assistant foreman and on to building chief. I recall that time with very good feelings and to this day maintain a very good relationship with the plant. When I cannot take it anymore, I go there, walk around, and I feel better. In late 1969, construction of the KamAZ [Kama Motor Vehicle Works] began, and I was offered the job of the general director there. I agreed, the proposal was submitted to the Central Committee, and the leaders there ordered to take me to the apparatus. However, in the Central Committee apparatus as well, I handled my branch—the development of power generation and machine building. This is the job I love, and it looked like I was doing well. While still employed at the plant, I received the State Prize for Technology. I also worked as an assistant to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov for the issues of industry, and this work considerably broadened my horizons. I like my specialty and miss it. It is a pity I left, there was a lot of promise.

[Salganik] Is it a pity despite the work having been in the apparatus? The current job, its peculiarities notwithstanding, also is an apparatus job for the most part.

[Volskiy] Believe me, there are different kinds of apparatchiks. Not one revolutionary idea is materialized without an apparatus. It is another matter that the apparatus should correspond to this idea, subscribe to it, and implement it with passion. Many of my comrades value apparatus work for these opportunities, and not at all for the privileges, as some people believe. As far as my privileges are concerned, I am prepared to switch places with anyone: Work 14 hours a day, without a single Sunday, without leave, without my family, in a tense living and psychological environment. Also, there are human tragedies, the feud, lack of mutual understanding, and blood which you encounter every day! I do not remember who said it: You may not believe in God, but it is dangerous to deny the existence of the devil as a symbol of evil. My everyday feeling is: It is impossible, it cannot go on like that!

To be sure, I would not pin it on the common people: They see, understand, and appreciate the work we are doing, both the rank-and-file Azeris and Armenians. During the March elections, I asked for permission to run locally. In the first round of voting, I received 96 percent of the votes; I did not expect this by any means. My electoral district has 119,000 Armenians and 122,000 Azeris, and these numbers speak for themselves.

[Salganik] You keep reminding the mass media of the need to be precise and discreet in their articles on the NKAO. Don't you think that restricted information brings about the opposite result, opening the field for fabrications and rumors?

[Volskiy] The barriers of censorship are not at issue here, though at first the apprehension was indeed voiced that information, particularly visual, will pour oil on the fire of mutual enmity. Nonetheless, many journalists both from our country and abroad have visited Nagorno-Karabakh. I will be frank: Dashing cavalry charges by some journalists, the cavalier treatment of the facts by them, and hasty conclusions run off on the printing press may complicate the situation perceptibly. Should I tell you that one smart report resulted in a strike which lasted a month?

[Salganik] Arkadiy Ivanovich, the latest events (I mean the new tragedy in Stepanakert and, of course, the violation of the Soviet-Iranian border and destruction of the border facilities) once again disturbed our country. What is your prediction at this point?

[Volskiy] If the parties fail to come to some form of an agreement, the prediction is as gloomy as can be. At present, in the environment of democratization of our society and the development of federative principles, the center cannot claim a monopoly on solutions. A solution is necessary, but it can only be found through joint efforts.

Peace Committee Issues Statement on Clashes

LD2001215890 Moscow TASS in English 2136 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—"The critical exacerbation of inter-ethnic relations in various regions of our country and first of all in Azerbaijan and Armenia gives rise to anguish because of the loss of life and concern for peace and security of the entire Soviet Union and for the destiny of perestroyka," says a Soviet peace committe statement circulated here on Saturday.

"The blood of innocent people is being spilt and the vicious circle of mutual hostility and ethnic strife is gaining in scope. All this may entail unpredictable consequences to both our country and the whole world," the statement points out.

"Our country's laws that guarantee Soviet people's national dignity and the right to life and security should be applied always and not only in extreme conditions. Otherwise, we lose time, which is made use of by

extremists and people who build their personal ambitions on a nationalist basis. As a result, one has to resort to extraordinary measures. "It is necessary to restore law and order in the country, to defend life and security of people, with respect for their constitutional rights. None of us wants perestroyka to be stained with blood, the committee emphasises.

"It is clear that the arisen conflicts cannot be resolved by force alone. Therefore we appeal to the civic conscience of every Soviet person, to all participants in the peace movement, to all independently acting social organisations and groups to do everything possible to stop the frenzy of bloody internecine strife.

"Joint actions 'from below' by all those who cherish peace in our home are now needed. We should restore the guarantees of people's right to life and security," the Soviet peace committee's statement reads.

Material, Power Shortages, TV Outages in Armenia

LD2201181890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Correspondent Koryun Khumaryan Report From Armenia]

[Text] Today most of the industrial enterprises in the republic have not been producing their main output because there have been no raw materials or parts. Not a single trainload of freight for the national economy has been allowed along the Azerbaijani railway to Armenia, although it has been 7 days since the state of emergency was declared here. Everywhere enterprise collectives have been engaged in routine repair of equipment and other secondary jobs. There is a shortage of electricity, too. The republican Council of Ministers is taking steps to ensure greater power savings. A new schedule for supplying electricity to industrial enterprises has been agreed whereby enterprises which work without interruption will, from 24 January and throughout the whole of next week, receive sufficient power to ensure proper working. As for other enterprises, a 4-day working week, with a strict rota of off-days, is being envisaged.

As from today, all the channels of Armenian and All-Union television will be switched off in the mornings from 0800 to 1100, and in the evenings from 1800 to 1930. One more unpleasant piece of news. Supplies of natural gas along the main trunk line through Azerbaijan were sharply reduced today, and this means that in Yerevan, which has a population of 1 and ½ million, about 1 million people will be without heating today.

But the people of Yerevan, who over the past 2 years have lived through and become used to many things, are not so much worried by this as the fact that there have been more instances of nonobjective information about the situation in the republic which have leaked to the mass media, including our Mayak broadcasts, whose objectivity was previously never in doubt. Today, the Ministry of Internal Affairs also expressed surprise over reports about alleged incidents in areas bordering on Azerbaijan, which exacerbate the atmosphere. The republican Internal Affairs Ministry stated that not a single incident on an interethnic basis in areas bordering on Azerbaijan has been recorded since 19 January.

Power-Saving Measures

PM2201191390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "Lights Went Out in the Windows"]

[Text] Yerevan—By 2200 hours local time 21 January the lights began to go out in many houses in Yerevan. For the most part lights only continued to burn in those windows where people were sitting in front of the television, listening to the Armenian Council of Ministers' address to the population.

It referred to the severe need to introduce a very strict electricity-saving regime. The steps being taken have been brought about by the fact that, as a result of the blockade, Armenia has ceased to receive the planned volume of heating oil and natural gas for for power-generating facilities.

A special Armenian Council of Ministers directive ratified the schedule setting minimal levels of electricity consumption for every industrial enterprise. As of 22 January television broadcasting is suspended temporarily on all channels every day from 0800 to 1100 and from 1800 to 1930. According to specialists' calculations, this measure is capable of cutting electricity consumption by no less than 50-80 megawatts.

It has been decided to cut street lighting by 70 percent and reduce the use of electricity in the trade and public catering system to a minimum; all luminous advertisements will be turned off temporarily. The appeal contains a request for all the republic's inhabitants to stop using electric heating appliances and switch off 50% of the lights in every house and every apartment.

Troops Use Called 'Extreme, But Correct' Measure

LD2301101990 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A prominent Soviet lawyer, Anatoliy Sobchak, who chaired a commission of USSR People's Deputies which inquired into the events in Tbilisi in April last year, has said that the use of troops in Baku in Azerbaijan and Armenia is an extreme, but correct measure. The commission previously sharply denounced the use of troops in Tbilisi. Sobchak said there is no analogy between the events in Tbilisi and the events in the Transcaucasus. The protests in Tbilisi were against the government but those were nonviolent protests. Blood is being shed now in the Transcaucasus and bandits are killing servicemen and civilians. No one can feel safe in the regions of Azerbaijan, where a state of emergency has been declared. Sobchak believes that, before long

overdue reforms are effected in these regions and party and government bodies, law and order must be restored.

Caspian Ferry Link Broken; Refugee Flood Expected

PM2201192390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Lenskiy, editor of KRASNOVODSKIY RABOCHIY: "The Ferries Have Stopped"]

[Text] Krasnovodsk, 22 Jan—After receiving 9,600 refugees, providing the requisite aid, and dispatching them to Yerevan and other cities in the country, Krasnovodsk has gotten a breather. On the evening of 20 January, in connection with the introduction of the state of emergency in Baku, the ferry link with the western bank of the Caspian was severed.

The ferry *Sovetskaya Gruziya,* which had already put to sea with dozens of vehicles carrying economic freight, including some bound for Azerbaijan, received a radio cable ordering it to return immediately to Krasnovodsk. I had just come back from the ferry terminus after visiting the *Sovetskaya Gruziya.* Drivers were in an agony of suspense, port employees had no information from Baku. Dozens of trucks and cars gathered at the mooring; freightcars were frozen to the rails. The efficient rhythm of the ferry terminus, which had celebrated its silver jubilee, was broken. The flow of freight to and from the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan has stopped. No one knows when regional ties will be established.

"We are looking for a way out of the situation," L. Golovko, chief of the maritime trading port, said. "We are sending freightcars for Armenia by a roundabout route via Chardzhou and Tashkent. We realize that this means several days' extra and additional expense, but there is no other way out."

The tense calm deceives no one. In the prevailing situation the municipal and republic commissions realize that the flood of refugees will resume following the relative normalization of the situation. That is why new measures are being taken, in view of the experience of the last few days, to ensure an efficient operation to transfer thousands and thousands of Armenians to other cities.

...A man asked the municipal commission providing aid to the refugees to change his name for an Armenian one. He is an Azeri married to an Armenian woman for many years, and he does not want to part with his wife and children. Well, such cases are not uncommon during the acute critical moments in relations between the two peoples.

Arrivals of Refugees Reported

LD2201201490 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan January 22 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Petukhov:

As many as 192 refugees from Azerbaijan now undergo treatment in Yerevan's hospitals. This was announced today at a meeting of the task force at the republican council for the emergency situation formed by the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet and the Armenian government.

As many as 7,930 refugees arrived in Armenia in the past days. By January 22, there were no refugees from Baku in Krasnovodsk, a port on the Caspian eastern shore.

Due to joint efforts of the task force and local and republican authorities, it has been possible to prepare housing, food and necessities for 23,000 refugees.

The Komosomol of the republic has formed a service which compiled the complete list of the arriving refugees, to make it easier for relatives to get in touch with them.

There is a shortage of fuel in Armenia because of the blockade of railways. A spokesman for Armenia's energy services told TASS that there is a shortage of mazout for thermal power stations, that the supply of gas to Armenia through neighbouring Azerbaijan sharply dropped.

The capacities of power stations were lowered, as a result of which large and small enterprises in the republic have actually been stopped. The use of electricity in Armenia was reduced to the summer level, even though there is now a frosty weather in Armenia.

Navy Embroiled With Ship-borne Azerbaijani Rebels

PM2201195790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Captain Second Rank O. Odnokolenko telephone report: "Baku: Pirate Escapades"]

[Text] Baku, 22 Jan—The day that internal troop and Soviet Army subunits were brought into Baku, several dozen "Kaspnefteflot" [Caspian oil industry enterprise] vessels blockaded the moorings of the maritime steamship company and the berths of Caspian flotilla ships.... According to data received at flotilla headquarters, 48 ships of various classes are currently in the roads, and all the channels are closed. Baku-Krasnovodsk ferry traffic has been suspended under threat of ramming.

Three hydrographic vessels carrying approximately 200 women and children and escorted by gunboats made to put to sea 21 January. Despite the warning issued by flotilla command, four "Kaspnefteflot" vessels headed by the motor ship *Baba-zade* began a dangerous maneuver with the intention of ramming or boarding the hydrographic vessels. The escort launch was forced to fire several warning shots. Only then did it prove possible for the hydrographic vessels to put out to sea.

Admiral V. Sidorov, representative of the Navy commander in chief in the flotilla, announced that the "Kaspnefteflot's" extremist actions had been provoked by a false claim by Azerbaijan People's Front leaders, alleging that the bodies of dead Baku inhabitants were being taken out aboard the Caspian flotilla ships.

On the night of 21-22 January, on authorization from the flotilla command, a group of Azerbaijan People's Front representatives were given an opportunity to inspect any ships of their choice. They were also offered a talk with Azerbaijani servicemen. They declined the latter proposal.

Visual observation reveals that extremists delivered automatic weapons and bulletproof vests from the shore to "Kaspnefteflot" vessels. According to some data, the headquarters of the Azerbaijan Peoples' Front is currently located on a "Kaspnefteflot" vessel. Admiral V. Sidorov says that the ships of the Caspian Maritime Steamship Company are taking no part in the extremist actions.

Correspondent Advocates Talks With People's Front

LD2201220290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Video report from Baku by corrspondent Ganiyev on 22 January; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] There is as before a state of emergency in the capital of Azerbaijan. According to information from the military, last night was relatively calm. Isolated shots were heard in the city. People's nerves are strained to the extreme. The most incredible rumors are spreading round the city.

The people are refugees. No one has demanded that they leave the city—none of the local authorities can guarantee their security. We are being asked a great many questions at this time in Baku, and the main one is; who is to blame? We will have to answer it with time. But not today. Today is a day of mourning in Baku.

There is immense grief in Baku today. The people of Baku are burying their dead. Since morning, the heartrending sound of steamship horns, the sirens of enterprises, and hundreds of car horns has resounded like a sea over the city. The flag above the building of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan has been lowered. There are pieces of black cloth hanging above every building. Places where blood has been shed are strewn with carnations. A funeral meeting was held in the city in the morning. Hundreds of thousands of residents of Baku and neighboring rayons took part in it.

Toward 1200 the mourning procession moved off toward Kirov Park, where on the decision of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, the dead will be buried in fraternal graves. At the fraternal graves, verses from the Koran were read and all the rituals of the Muslim faith were carried out. And here, I would like to say that the clergy, the people who spoke, did not say one word about, made no appeals, for vengeance, for blood. On the contrary, people are calling for calm and reason. Members of the People's Front are ensuring order at the rally and at the funerals, behind which today, one has to say, one senses a very great force. Do not forget that certain rayons of Azerbaijan are under the control of the People's Front, and as you can see, here too, the people are in complete solidarity with the People's Front. Perhaps it is high time to sit down with them at the negotiating table. Perhaps this could in some way prevent the further shedding of blood. [video shows view over Baku, women weeping, people waiting with suitcases near military vehicles, view over port with vessels, view of large number of people standing in lines several people thick, black flags on buildings, Ganiyev speaking in studio, more views of Baku residents standing outside]

Front's News Conference Criticized

LD2201190690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1756 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—Journalists invited to a press conference at the permanent mission of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic in Moscow today hoped to receive reliable information. However, the representatives of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, the scientists and cultural figures who addressed them, in the main residence in the capital, clearly tried to fire the imagination of those attending with huge figures for those killed and wounded during the entry of the troops into Baku. According to these figures which, as the organizers of the press-conference themselves stated, had not been checked, it turned out that 3,700 people had been killed in Baku and about 10,000 people had been injured!

The following kind of story was also told: That the military had loaded the bodies of those killed onto ships in order to take them away and throw them into the sea. But this story was not backed up with any evidence, either.

Of course, no one is against journalists covering any particular point of view and being able to obtain information which might clarify the already complex and difficult situation which has arisen in Azerbaijan. But is it really reasonable and justified to quote rumors and conjectures, and such fantastic ones at that, which serve only to whip up the situation and escalate the tragic events. And it is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the premises of the republic's permanent mission were chosen as the place to hold this kind of briefing, whereas one must assume that these premises are intended to serve an altogether different purpose, first and foremost that of building bridges, strengthening relations between people, and ending the long-drawn out conflict as soon as possible.

Concerning the sad results of the armed resistance to the entry of troops into the Azerbaijan capital to restore order, these are contained in the address by the city's

military commandant, broadcast repeatedly today on Baku radio: According to more precise figures, 83 people died on 19 and 20 January, including 14 servicemen.

As far as the ship is concerned, this was indeed there. On that day families of servicemen were taken out of Baku on it. Furthermore, as was reported at the press conference, the military commandant was willing to make available a high-speed launch to representatives of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, but the latter rejected it, since in their view it was impossible to catch the ship with the high-speed launch.

Reporters Briefed on Kafarova Statement

NC2101122690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1015 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Sadykhov, minister of foreign affairs of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], has told the republic's radio that the disclosure by El'mira Kafarov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, is being conveyed to the people of the world.

Toward this end, employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted correspondents of the media organs of various countries in Moscow yesterday and today and gave them a detailed briefing on the disclosure.

The republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is continuing its efforts to convey El'mira Kafarova's disclosure to the broad masses of the world.

Journalists Face 'Unfriendly' Baku Public

PM1901165790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Sergey Mostovshchikov telephone report: "How We Work. Remarks By A Journalist Posted By the Editorial Office to Baku"]

[Text] 19 Jan—"Welcome to Baku!" is the message that greets travelers in regular red letters on a large stand set up on the road from the airport. This stand has a good past and, one would like to think, a good future. But it is currently failing in its mission: Baku's welcome to us was unfriendly.

Actually, we correspondents and photographers from the central mass media knew where our editorial offices were sending us, and we didn't bring any party clothes with us. We also realized, of course, that each word filed by us from here and each assessment of the situation would literally be put under the microscope later on. Nobody imagined we would be among the main people blamed for the tragedy being played out in the Transcaucasus. But this, it now seems, was predestined even before we flew out of Moscow....

The view of the majority of the population of the work of the central press was most clearly reflected in a recent issue of AZADLYG ("FREEDOM"), the newspaper of the People's Front of Azerbaijan. A statement published in it by the People's Front of Azerbaijan Board stated that events in Azerbaijan had to all intents and purposes been provoked by union legislative and executive organs. Apart from anything else, these had "permitted, through corrupt Armenian lobbies at central party and state news agencies, a policy whereby the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] was economically stifled and the Azerbaijani people were discredited in the eyes of the public."

This idea was developed by an editorial in the newspaper headlined "Democracy in Danger!" The writer stated that the bloodshed provoked by certain forces was aimed at bringing about the declaration of a state of emergency in the republic. This plays into the hands of the center, Armenia, and the irresponsible Azerbaijani leadership, since the introduction of troops could stifle the democratic transformations begun in the republic. The central press, in the writer's opinion, has played a large part in this.

That is the kind of "journalism" around. People's conversation and rally speeches make everything appear even simpler: The central press has been bought by the Armenians and therefore does not provide an objective reflection of Azerbaijan's problems.

"Why don't you write anything about the Azerbaijanis being driven out of Armenia? Why did you stay silent when they were leaving their homes barefoot, without any possessions, carrying their children, and now when they are still unable to find housing and work? Why have you come here to write about pogroms and photograph corpses in a republic that's been forced to defend itself and fight for its independence?"

These and other questions were put to us by virtually all the Azerbaijanis with whom we spoke, irrespective of whether they were for or against the declaration of a state of emergency. Yes, indeed, why not argue? Why shouldn't we explain ourselves? If only things started and ended with theoretical discussions....

The papers have already written about TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov's narrow escape when he was with the militia, patrolling the city. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI photographer Pavel Kassin's camera was smashed while he was taking photographs. There was an attempt to beat up TRUD correspondent Vadim Belykh, just a couple of steps away from the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry building, just because he "belonged" to a central publication. TASS photo diary representative Dmitriy Sokolov and PRAVDA photographer Mayya Skurikhina had problems taking a few photographs even on a well-guarded ferry taking Armenian refugees to Krasnovodsk. Any camera spotted in a journalist's hands during a rally, for example, can cause serious unpleasantness.

But the camera is not the only piece of equipment that has to be used carefully here. The same applies to the telephone. A USSR Internal Affairs Ministry spokesman and the internal forces' command currently in Baku are

refusing to provide any operational information on the telephone. It must be said that the organization of surveillance, including surveillance of journalists, is at its height. Some of our colleagues, after 2 days' work in Baku, transferred from the Moskva Hotel to the Apsheron. They said that all the registration cards they had filled in before occupying their rooms had disappeared, and they had passport numbers and home addresses in Moscow on them. We did not believe them. So we went down to the administrator of our hotel and found that our cards were missing too.... Late in the evening one of us received a telephone call in his room:

"Journalists? Unless you leave tomorrow evening we will take you out feet first."

People who know the situation have suggested that there are precautions one can take if determined to go around the city alone, without a vehicle and without an escort, or to go to places where fighting is taking place. One has to obtain a special People's Front certificate to the effect that it has instructed the journalist to report from Baku or from areas of the republic. This document would serve, with luck, as a kind of "safe conduct."

The ritual involved in obtaining one is worth describing. They say that one has to go to Dzerzhinskiy Park in Baku and look for a semi-ruined school building there. You explain that you need to speak with someone from the Azerbaijan People's Front leadership. Then you are taken to some other ruins, where there is a kind of "headquarters." At the headquarters you have to fill in a special form and say where you want to go and why. After a while (if everything goes smoothly) you are given a sheet of writing paper with a typewritten text in Azeri. It is a supposed "Azerbaijan People's Front authorization," signed by the chairman.

We have seen such a document. And despite its rough and ready nature, it has, they say, a certain power. This has been confirmed in conversations I have had with representatives of the republic's official authorities. The document issued by the Azerbaijan People's Front can help in many situations. As long as you manage to get it out of your pocket and show it in time, of course.

But it is not really a matter of documentation. This is just a detail in the picture of the situation in Baku. We believed that, in a complex situation in which it is extremely difficult to operate, journalists would be able to count on assistance from those who possess basic information on the state of affairs and can help with protection, transportation, and communications. However, some days ago we went, as usual, to the Internal Affairs Ministry, which houses the operational headquarters and is the place where the representatives of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and internal forces who have come to Baku are working. A militia sergeant barred the way.

"No admittance," he said. "It's an order: Journalists are not allowed into the building...."

World Comment on Transcaucasus Cited

PM1901121190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Roundup by A. Ivanko: "World Attention Riveted on Transcaucasus"]

[Excerpts] The events in the Transcaucasus are continuing to rivet the attention of the world mass media. They all comment positively on the measures of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Government to stabilize the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. [passage omitted]

U.S. State Department Official Spokesman Tutwiler said at a briefing: "We are continuing to follow the development of events and again urge the Azerbaijanis and Armenians to cease the violence and seek peaceful ways of surmounting their differences." To the question of whether the United States supports independence for Azerbaijan she replied: "We recognize the territorial integrity of the USSR as of 1933. We do not recognize the illegal annexation of the Baltic countries. In addition in this case it is not a question of the people's political demands or of demonstrations. It is many years of ethnic tension and it is a case of old enemies, of people settling old accounts." [passage omitted]

Many reports are coming in from the Muslim countries. Thus, Iranian leader Ayatollah Kha'meini has stated that it is not an "Islamic upsurge" of the Soviet Muslims which stands behind the present events in Azerbaijan."

"Pan-Turkism," the Turkish newspaper GUNAYDIN believes, "is as dangerous for us as racism in Europe. The appearance of flags similar to the Turkish flag on the rare photographs from Azerbaijan should frighten us. Do those who live by the Utopian ideals of a 'Great Azerbaijan' through the unification of the Azerbaijanis in the Soviet Union, Iran, and Turkey think about who is supporting them in such claims? Do they consider the fact that these actions will not only violate the existing balance in the region but also cause blood to be shed?"

Iran Border Crossings Closed Pending Organized Exit

PM2201193790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[F. Ivanov report: "From the Soviet-Iranian Border"]

[Text] B. Golyshev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Troops Political Administration, describes the situation.

On the evening of 21 January there were mass border crossings onto Iranian territory, in which up to 40,000 people took part in the Prishib and Lenkoran border detachment sectors. In order to prevent border violations, the border troops increased the number of units operating there. Iranian police were observed attempting to block off the city of Astara (Iran) in order to prevent the exit of Iranian citizens onto Soviet territory.

The same evening a Lenkoran People's Front appeal was broadcast on Lenkoran Radio. It said, in particular, that the "border is closed and people must refrain from attempting to cross it, since legal admission will be organized over the next few days." Evacuation of border guards' families has begun, owing to the unstable situation and the incessant threats of reprisals.

'Anti-Soviet Acts' by Azeris in Iran Reported

NC2101123590 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] A state of emergency and curfew have been declared in Baku. Soldiers who arrived there were forced to return the fire of combatants of the Azerbaijan People's Front. A total of 51 civilians were killed and 287 wounded. Several soldiers were killed and wounded as well.

In the past 24 hours, 43 cases of plundering were reported. Combatants set up barricades in Baku and some other areas of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and stopped two trains carrying military units at train stations.

A strong explosion at the Azerbaijan television station in Baku, probably caused by a homemade bomb, suspended operations at the republic's television. Newspapers are not being published in Baku.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee dismissed Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov from his post as first secretary of the Azerbaijan Central Committee Central Committee and appointed Mutalibov and Polyanichko, members of the Political Bureau. Mutalibov and Polyanichko, together with Gasanov and Mamedov, who are also members of the Political Bureau, met with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow yesterday and discussed the situation that has emerged in the republic.

According to recent reports, extremists are obstructing efforts to restore calm and order on the Soviet-Iranian border and thus are trying to give this internal conflict an international dimension.

At the request of participants in a rally attended by several thousand people in Nakhichevan, it was announced that the autonomous republic which borders Iran and Turkey is to leave the structure of the Soviet Union.

Activists of the People's Front who have gone to Iranian territory are participating in various anti-Soviet acts.

Iran's Majlis Writes Gorbachev on Muslims, Peace

LD2301112590 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] According to our correspondent's report, at the end of today's Majlis open session, a letter written by more than 160 deputies to the Soviet leader, about the events in Soviet Azerbaijan, was read out.

Referring to the historical letter by His Eminence Imam Khomeyni to the Soviet leader foreseeing the new political conditions in the world, particularly in USSR, which has brought a ray of hope to all philanthropists, the letter reads: By staging demonstrations in their cities and massing along the borders of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is the seat of Islam in the present era, the people of Soviet Azerbaijan have expressed their wish to return to the bossom of Islam and regain their lost identity.

In another part the letter reads: The Iranian Muslims are conscious of their religious and humanitarian duty and are extremely worried about these events. Alongside the rest of the world's Muslims, we, the Majlis deputies, express our deep regret about the grief and hardship inflicted on the Muslims of Soviet Azerbaijan. While expressing condolences to them, we call on the Soviet leader not to be influenced by the ploys of world arrogance and the criminal United States, and treat the Soviet Muslims, whose hearts are alight with the love of Islam, peacefully.

PRAVDA Editor on Baltic, Caucasian Crises

PM2301104090 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 17 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with PRAVDA Editor Ivan Frolov by Sergio Sergi; date, place not given]

[Text] Moscow—[Sergi] Following the difficult test in Lithuania, the tide of violence has spread to Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh. What is happening?

[Frolov] Obviously there is no direct link between the Baltic republics and Nagorno Karabakh. Behind the tragic events in this region there lies the situation of the shadow economy and of the mafia which, when the time is ripe, selects, plans, and organizes these actions. The heads of these organizations are afraid that under peaceful conditions they could be identified and hit. I believe that they will be punished in any case. Of course in the Caucasus there are the social feelings that fuel each other. For instance, the Armenian parliament has approved a law proclaiming its rights over Nagorno Karabakh. The Azerbaijanis immediately responded with criminal acts against the Armenian population of Baku. An act on one side provokes a response on the other side. And so it goes.

[Sergi] What are the authorities doing to prevent all this?

[Frolov] The leaders of the two republics are not doing their duty, they are not controlling the situation. In Azerbaijan in practice virtually everything is handled by the "people's front." In Armenia, too, as well as the party, there are other forces assuming power. But it is also a mistake to wait for the "center" to intervene and resolve everything. Now we are being asked for an armed intervention, but that is an extreme option for which the "center" would later be blamed again. Why should these Russian boys go there? Why put these other lives in

jeopardy? I would not be surprised if tomorrow the same hatred were to break out in Azerbaijan against the Russians living in Baku. In this republic the criminal activities of those protected by Brezhnev created deep rooted corrupt forces which in practice still govern.

[Sergi] How does the CPSU Secretariat judge the present situation?

[Frolov] It is a very dangerous situation. The government is at stake. In Azerbaijan the government structures have in many cases already been altered. The "people's front" is organizing groups of guerrillas. Unless serious measures are adopted events could get out of hand.

[Sergi] So is there a real threat to perestroyka?

[Frolov] I would like to avoid excessively broad generalizations: If your finger hurts you cut it off, but you do not die from it. The same is happening during the course of perestroyka. It is a huge country...

[Sergi] Will Gorbachev go to the Caucasus?

[Frolov] I have heard talk of it. I doi not consider it necessary.

[Sergi] Is it possible to speak in terms of a civil war in progress?

[Frolov] No. I would speak in terms of inter-ethnic hostility. There is a battle strongly imbued with religious feelings.

[Sergi] How strong is the influx of Islam?

[Frolov] Very strong, and it worries us, because it is creating a destabilizing situation throughout the region.

[Sergi] There is an agreement with the Iranian Government...

[Frolov] Yes, but as far as I know, there is free transit at the border. The populations fraternize. The Iranians' attitude is rather different now. Pan-Islamic feelings are very strong; the objective is the establishment of a single Azerbaijan. It is difficult to say how things will proceed. Iran, too, should pledge itself to a normalization process.

[Sergi] Is there a solution?

[Frolov] The range of political solutions is narrowing, though it is hoped that the application of emergency measures will always be conducted within the context of political activity.

[Sergi] Let us turn to Lithuania. Can the dispute be settled?

[Frolov] This is precisely our aim. Except that—unlike in the past, when it was believed that all problems could be resolved at a stroke—it will take discussion, dialogue, deliberation, and mutual understanding.

[Sergi] The Estonian Communist Party, too, is preparing to become independent of the CPSU. Will you all go to Tallinn now?

[Frolov] I really do not believe so. If necessary, we will go. It is a beautiful city...

[Sergi] Will you admit that there has been a lag in tackling the problem of the Baltic republics?

[Frolov] Anything may be said. The problems accumulated progressively... Who knows? Perhaps it is better to have tackled them now. Because I have heard many proposals made that fortunately were not taken up. Wisdom often consists not only in acting in the right direction but also in refraining from adopting erroneous stances. If we are to remain loyal to the new way of thinking it is necessary to see how the processes of life develop and not only to try to influence them.

[Sergi] Did anyone have in mind the use of force as a solution in the Baltic?

[Frolov] Perhaps some people were thinking of it, but they were not intelligent people. They were people who think according to imperial categories. Our leadership group has abandoned this policy. Unfortunately the results of the new perestroyka policy are not yet sufficient to convince people. And the problem concerns not only the consumer market but also inter-ethnic relations. The most important thing is the time factor, whether perestroyka has time available...

[Sergi] Will you give the Lithuanians an answer at the next plenum on 29 January?

[Frolov] The answers will be those already given by Gorbachev in Vilnius. The main topic will be the congress platform. There will be much to discuss because the proceedings will last several days.

[Sergi] Does the document for the 28th congress broach the issue of the Communist Party's "leading role?"

[Frolov] Yes, yes. Perhaps not directly, because it is a program document. We do not cling to that article of the constitution. There can be no renewed party whose vanguard role is recognized by decree. A renewed party must not need such formal acts.

[Sergi] When will that article by eliminated or amended?

[Frolov] My opinion is that the operation must be carried out within the context of a comprehensive revision of the constitution—but without wasting any more time. Definitive decisions must be adopted so that there are no misunderstandings and to avoid creating the impression that this Central Committee is digging its heels in. The opportunity must be seized.

[Sergi] Speaking in Tokyo yesterday, Yeltsin gave the USSR 3 months to live. What do you think?

[Frolov] Boris Nikolayevich makes many statements. Of course if people put their minds to it it would be possible

to succeed in the attempt to dissolve everything even within a month. But we are committed to a different path, the path of consolidating perestroyka. And our party is no longer that of Brezhnev, still less that of Stalin. It is already a different party. It is another matter to say that further transformations are needed. The party itself says so.

Komsomol Organizations Set up in Baltic Fleet

LD1701155190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Komsomol and perestroyka—the report of a Kaliningrad correspondent is devoted to this subject. As we know, a complex restructuring of Komsomol work is taking place, and so the more interesting becomes the experience, which is described in our correspondent's report on the Komsomol conference of the Twice Red Banner Baltic Fleet.

[S. Chekalin] All conference participants are associating these positive changes with the formation on battleships and in the fleet in general of new collective democratic organs of leadership—councils of Komsomol organisations [sovetov komsomolskikh organizatsiy]. As you know, previously Komsomol assistants have been appointed from above; now, for the first time in the USSR Armed Forces, in the Baltic Fleet, councils which are being elected from below have emerged.

[Begin recording of V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee] Well, I think that this is a very interesting and successful attempt to combine two apaparently incompatible things as, on the one hand, the order and discipline of the combined command of the army, and on the other the activity of such a public organization as the Komsomol. This is not a simple matter. It seems to me that it is really quite possible with a sensible combination of one and the other. [end recording]

[Chekalin] The All-Fleet Council of the Komsomol organizations has been elected for the first time at the conference. The delegates to the 21st Komsomol Congress and the first congress of the Komsomol organizations of Russia have been also elected.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Appoints New Ministers

LD1801112890 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 3 Jan 90 p1

[Decrees of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet dated 28 December 1989; each appointment is announced as an individual decree published in individual boxes in the center of the page]

[Summary] The Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decrees the following appointments:

Toomas Somera is appointed minister of communications;
Rein Loik is appointed minister of education;
Eduard Cherevashko is appointed a minister;
Rein Otsason is appointed president of the Estonian Bank, and is relieved of his duties as deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

Estonian City Refuses To Implement Military Draft

PM1701114590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev "Rejoinder": "Lawlessness Within the 'Law'?"]

[Text] It seems that nothing surprises the people who serve on Estonian territory. Neither being dubbed occupiers and militarists, nor the lack of housing, nor the artificial difficulties encountered in finding jobs for their wives and kindergartens and creches for their children, nor the visiting cards introduced as of February in the republic which people without residence permits (and there are more than just a handful of them among the servicemen and their families) have to show in order to get served. They have grown accustomed to the situation and they tolerate it.

But even these men who have been around, so to speak, could not help being troubled by the recent actions of the newly-elected Tartu City Soviet. Citing the law on the fundamentals of local self-government, the republic's constitution, an Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet decision on the historical-legal assessment of the events of 1940, and a number of international documents, the city organ of Soviet power adopted a resolution 9 January rescinding... a number of provisions of the republic's Criminal Code.

The two articles of the Estonian SSR Criminal Code laying down penalties for evading military service and dodging the draft are no longer in force in Tartu. At the same time the city soviet has announced that its executive bodies are not to involve themselves in the drafting of young people into the USSR Armed Forces. This is a strange step in terms of creating a law-governed state.

In accordance with it 57 spring and 67 fall "dodgers" can, so to say, rest easy. The city soviet decision also provides food for thought for those who soon actually will be crossing the threshold of the military commissariat. The deluded, muddled adolescents can probably be forgiven their delight on receiving this news. But what are we to think of those people who knowingly incite them to unconstitutional acts?

Missionary Party Established in Estonia

LD2001070390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] The constituent congress of the Estonian Missionary Party [Missionerskaya Partiya] has taken place and the statutes and a program were adopted. According

to the statues, the new party unites all the honest people of Estonia and holds the eternal biblical values as the basis for its activity. The party's goal is developing love for one's neighbor, observing the ten commandments, and helping all those in need: disabled, mothers with many children, the sick, prisoners, and so on.

'Green Party' Set Up in Latvia

LD1801213190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Summary] In Latvia the Enironmental Protection Club, the Latvian University Ecological Center, the relevant section of the Culture Fund and "other environmental movements" have united to form a Green Party with around 3,000 members. "Defining their position on the political map of Latvia, the Greens claim that they are neither on the right nor the left—merely at the front."

Latvian Parliament Alters Communist Party Status

PM1901145190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "Latvia: Limit on...Applause"]

[Text] In the heat of the debate at the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session, which has resumed work in Riga after the Christmas and New Year break, one speaker almost got some applause, which has been extremely rare of late in the parliamentary chamber. However, he managed without it this time too: The speaker himself stopped it with an eloquent gesture. "I ask you to consider," he said, " the fact that we have a tight limit not only on engine life but also... on applause." What he said was appreciated: Indeed, not everything that only recently was enthusiastically applauded in the republic Supreme Soviet hall of sessions has stood the test of time. It has happened so many times: Before they have gotten around, so to speak, to adopting an amendment to an article of the Constitution or another law, they are already having to consider amending the amendment.

When you keep on encountering such cases, you automatically think: Can you really believe what is said, written, and indeed recorded in legislation?

Those, approximately, were my thoughts when the session was examining the procedure for enacting on Latvian territory the USSR Law "On the Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR." The point is that, according to the republic's existing Constitution, it requires a ratification procedure for this law to enter into force on the republic's territory. One might think there would be no other opinions on ratification in this situation. Alas, certain deputies clearly took exception to certain articles and passages in the law. They were prepared, so to speak, to derail the law, which, incidentally, is of fundamental significance not only in terms of overhauling the republic's economy.

It is not this that gives the session a special place in the republic's history. What is it, then? The deputies had to give their verdict on amendments to Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the republic's Constitution, which had been submitted for discussion. Essentially, it was a matter of their view of the Communist Party's leading role in society. This question has been a topic of debate for a long time and it continues to be debated in the republic. Views vary.

One way or another, the amendments to the articles were adopted, with the votes being cast: 225 for, 9 against, 20 abstentions. Henceforth, Article 6 of the Constitution will say that "the Latvian Communist Party and other parties and public organizations will operate in the way laid down by the Latvian SSR Constitution and other republic laws."

Article 7 of the new version gives parties and public organizations in the republic an equal right to participate in the solution of political, economic, and sociocultural questions. Article 49 declares the right of Latvian SSR citizens to form parties and other public organizations which do not set out to violently change or overthrow the existing state system and do not have any other goals or perform any other actions that are unconstitutional.

Speaking on republic television, Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Ya.Ya. Vagris said that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau supports the decisions adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet session.

The commentary on this question would be incomplete if I did not say that the session adopted yet another unique document—a declaration on the activity of the Latvian Communist Party on the territory of the republic. The document notes that the Supreme Soviet regards the current Latvian Communist Party as the successor to the party founded in 1904 and considers it an integral part of the Latvian SSR political system. The document also contains the following passage: "The Latvian Communist Party operated in the twenties and thirties in the Latvian Republic as an illegal independent party and in 1940 the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee decided TO INCORPORATE (my emphasis—M. Ziyeminsh) it in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)."

There was a wide-ranging debate at the session because, apparently, no archive material was found to the effect that the "Latvian Communists applied for admission to the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)." In a nutshell, the act was deemed nonvoluntary and coercive. Hence, the opportunities for all manner of verbal and practical shenanigans in the future.

The session did not examine the promised draft law on alternative service—it is still in the drafting stage. This does not mean, however, that there was no discussion of

the army. Speeches made during the discussion of Deputy A. Chepanis' report on work done to study the effect of army subunits' actions on the environment consisted of the usual destructive criticism, while the arguments and counterarguments presented by the spokesman for the Baltic Military District were deemed "unobjective." The commission decided to continue work on this question; a special resolution was adopted.

Latvian Communist Party Split Viewed

LD2301091790

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1830 GMT on 22 January carries a report featuring Romualds (Razuks), member of the Duma of the Latvian People's Front and chairman of the Lithuanians of Latvia Society, and Juris Bojars, Communist Party member and USSR people's deputy, giving their opinions concerning the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. (Razuks) says that the only problem is whether the progressive communists of Latvia, irrespective of their nationality, will make the right choice of being with the people of Latvia, or if they will continue with their senseless policy. "With the delay they are losing; every day they are losing even those votes which they perhaps would be capable of getting, says (Razuks)

Communist Juris Bojars then makes the following comment: "I want, right away, to state the questions very briefly, to dot all the i's. I do not agree with the position that Gorbachev adopted in his speech concerning Lithuania, that the Lithuanians have no right to establish their Communist Party and that, you see, the CPSU rules do not allow their leaving. I did not agree with that at all. This is in contradiction with the rights of self-determination of a people."

"You see," says Bojars, "there is a people, it has its party, and it has the right to even establish an entirely new party, whether anybody wants it and whether anybody likes it or not."

Bojars continues: "Let us assume now that our Communist Party of Latvia will divide. The danger is, after all, under these circumstances' that the CPSU Central Committee could recognize one of the parties that will form in the event of this split, and not recognize the other, and therefore the other would not as it were get anything at all. Such a possibility exists, therefore one must be rather cautious here, and, in any event not hurry with a split, be it as unpleasant as it may for some Latvians to exist in one party with people whose political opinions they literally hate. And I do not at all feel that representatives of Russian or other nationalities could not be in this party. I think that we are able to agree, and, let us say, in Latvian society, the influence of the Interfront, that is, in the non-Latvian speaking part of society, is not as great as it was in the past, because many have become disappointed in this front."

"You see, therefore, I would very willingly see our party with representatives of many nationalities. Once we live together, then we must also somehow unite in one party. But if we were to split into national parties, well, I do not know whether anything good would come of that, it could only increase confrontation," says Bojars.

"I think that now the biggest contradictions, also in the Soviet Union, are not so much between the peoples. Well, you see, in the Caucasus that hatred has been around for centuries, and it is now especially manifesting itself," Bojars explains.

"The biggest contradictions at present are between conservatives or reactionaries and democrats. There are most varied types of democrats, and they have the most varied plumes. So then, a fight is now taking place, you see, between the democratically-thinking and conservatively-thinking forces, in the territory of the entire Soviet Union. I think that it is also taking place in Latvia," Bojars concludes.

Latvian Officials View Demand for Independence

AU1201141190 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 12 Jan 90 p 4

["Thal" report: "The Baltic States Are the Key to the European Question"]

[Text] Vienna—"We cannot secede; we have never belonged to it." With this concise statement Daynis Ivans, president of the Latvian Popular Front, describes the self-image of the Baltic republics as regards their relations with the Soviet Union. "Now we want, above all, an end to the Soviet occupation and the step-by-step withdrawal of the army from Latvia."

The next stage will include talks at the roundtable between the Popular Front and the Soviet leadership. "I hope for a situation like the one in Poland after the victory of Solidarity," Ivans says and adds that Latvia wants to be a "neighboring state" of the USSR.

The Popular Front represents all popular groups (20 in total) in Latvia. "We do not feel like Soviet citizens," Ivans says. "The Baltic republics want to be free states and now it is the last moment to demand this from Gorbachev."

The process in the Baltic states is a key to the European question. "Without our freedom the USSR is an empire," Ivans says. "Our basic rights have never been recognized, and now we want to demonstrate our will for independence by means of a referendum."

The USSR must react to the historical fact that the Baltic states were "gobbled up," Janis Danos, chairman of the German Cultural Association in Latvia and member of the Popular Front, adds. In a resolution the Latvian Popular Front demands that the topic of the Baltic states be discussed at the next Helsinki conference.

On the role of the Communist Party, the chairman of the Popular Front says that the Communist Party does not

have any future in the Baltic states. Communist Ivans himself relies on "resistance from inside."

Concerning the "Roundtable Europe," Ivans and Danos critically stated that only "Soviet participants" were mentioned in the welcoming speech. Instead of the flags of the Baltic republics, only Soviet flags were put on the tables: "Obviously, the West does not want to hurt Gorbachev," Danos says acidly.

Latvian Front Confirms Pre-election Platform

LD1501142290 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The People's Front of Latvia, Dome, today confirmed the preelection platform for the forthcoming Supreme Soviet elections. The political idea of national independence for Latvia is at its center. And the voters want to know, of course, whether the People's Front is also able to see specific ways of improving the economy.

First of all, legal market relations and also peasants' ownership of land are proclaimed. It is noted that private property questions in other branches of the national economy must be tackled.

The first thing the People's Front is able to promise in the social sphere is social guarantees. The new parliament will campaign to raise minimum pensions to the level of minimum subsistence, which has now already been calculated. It will take a stand for raising students' grants, for indexing prices so that with price rises wages will correspondingly be raised, thereby maintaining purchasing power.

In connection with the liquidation of unprofitable enterprises, social guarantees must be given to people who could become unemployed in this connection. So, support funds for the unemployed must be created.

The People's Front of Latvia preelection platform also includes special guarantees for the reorganization of work of all other national economy branches, subjecting the results of work to ensuring the needs of people.

The People's Front of Latvia, Dome, also confirmed today a list of eventual candidate deputies for the Supreme Soviet elections, nominated at branches and in the rayons.

Latvian Parliament Discusses Trade Union Bill

LD2001034490 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] A draft law on trade unions has been submitted for discussion by the Parliament of the Baltic Republic of Latvia. It envisages the right to veto any, including government, decision contradicting the people's interests. The draft was adopted by a plenary meeting of the Republican Trade Union Council. If it is approved by Parliament, the trade unions will obtain the right to freeze resolutions and laws concerning prices, housing, and other vital issues.

Contraband Confiscated in Riga Seaport

LD2001211990 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 19 TASS—By LATINFORM-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvarts:

Customs officials at the Riga sea port in Latvia impounded a contraband shipment after inspection. Experts revealed that the 500-tonne cargo, belonging to the Rigaselmash (Riga agricultural machinery) factory, with declared value of 150,000 roubles, contained materials for use in aircraft and rocket building and, as such, prohibited from export. Criminal proceedings have been instituted on charges of attempted illegal conveyance of valuables across the Soviet border, aggravated by the size of the shipment and customs fraud (the use of fake customs papers).

Chairman of the Latvian KGB State Security Committee Stanislav Zukul said a youth organisation from Novosibirsk used the intermediary services of the Riga agricultural machinery factory to smuggle valuable nonferrous metals out of the country. It forged documents to pass them off as construction materials, the export of which requires no licence. Investigation will show who masterminded the deal.

The KGB official noted that lately exports of strategically important raw materials have been attempted repeatedly but were stopped by the customs without delay. One example is a Riga cooperative charged with the attempted export of a shipment of metallic titan worth 1.5 million roubles.

Paper Shortage Stops Latvian Newspapers

LD2301092890 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 0700 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] A shortage of paper is disrupting newspaper operations in the Latvian Soviet Republic. Today no newspapers at all are appearing in Latvia, and TASS reports that the Latvian Communist Party printing house has announced that in future the most important party papers will appear only once a week to save paper. The paper shortage is due to the decision by local officials to end production of cellulose at the factory at Jurmala. The plant is regarded as one of the worst polluters in Latvia.

Vilnius Pro-CPSU Aktiv Supports Gorbachev

LD2201174590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius 22 Jan (ELTA-TASS)—A republican conference of party activists (taking the Platform of the

CPSU Central Comittee) has been held here. Its participants discussed the results of the visit to Lithuania by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as of CPSU Central Committee Politburo members Vadim Medvedev and Yuriy Maslyukov, and other members of the Central Committee.

The participants in the conference adopted a resolution in which they approve the theses and conclusions contained in the speech of the Soviet leader at the meeting of the republic's party activists, as well as at the meetings with representatives of the creative intelligentsia, with the working people of Lithuania. The participants in the conference are hoping, it says in the resolution, that the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum will make a fundamental appraisal of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party and will uphold the efforts of the temporary Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania aimed at preserving unity in the CPSU ranks.

At the conference of the activists, pressing issues concerning the activity of party organizations and political and organizational work were also examined.

Lithuania's Sajudis Discusses Language Policy

LD2001234690 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Today the Sajudis Seimas Council met in Vilnius to discuss the movement's national policy. The council commission on national issues declared a bill on Sajudis national policy, issued an appeal to the Lithuanian Government for help to be extended to national minorities, and passed documents relating to the use of Lithuanian as the state language, regulation of immigration, and situation in southeast Lithuania.

The commission documents indicate that the implementation of the law on Lithuanian as the state language is not rapid enough. Last year only 7,500 of non-Lithuanians studied Lithuanian. Teaching Lithuanian leaves more to be desired in east Lithuania. The law on state financing has not been passed yet. The Sajudis commission on national issues demands to work out a policy program of the Lithuanian language.

The Sajudis Seimas Council appealed to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers to regulate migration by reducing it.

Sajudis announced a memorandum on the situation in southeast Lithuania which has a large population of Poles. The memorandum says that over recent years, 45 day nurseries and 15 schools with the subjects taught in Polish were opened. TV and radio programs are being broadcast in Polish. National rebirth of Poles is underway. Despite that, the Polish Union and the party authorities in Salcininkai region, southeast Lithuania acting in tandem with the Stalinist style Yedinstvo organization seek to proclaim a Polish autonomy. The memorandum is strongly critical of the stand taken by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and submissiveness to the Polish Union which pursues policy hostile to that of restoring Lithuanian independence.

In its memorandum Sajudis appeals to the Polish parliament urging it to give assessment to the intervention the Polish General (Jeligovskiy) carried out in 1920 in Lithuania.

The commission's documents reveal that the reasons for national discord are rooted in Stalinist domestic and foreign policy pursued over long years. Today all Lithuanian citizens should have equal rights and obligations. Future policy will be based on international treaties, human rights declaration, Helsinki and Vienna international treaties.

Sajudis' Landsbergis on Economic Independence

LD1901175390 Warsaw PAP in Engl 1448 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, Jan. 19—Chairman of the Sajudis Lithuanian movement for restructuring Professor Vytautas Landsbergis said in an interview for PAP special correspondent Miroslav Ikonowicz that economic independence would be an indispensable premise for state sovereignty to which Lithuania strives with determination.

Landsbergis mentioned Lithuania's own budget, currency (the lit, which means that the Lithuanian currency could be restored from mid-1990), and credit policy that would strive to develop private farms.

It is primarily in economic relations that we must switch over to the plane of contacts and exchange based on market laws, also in relations with the Soviet Union's republics. At the same time, Lithuania's trade with abroad must be expanded considerably. We will orientate ourselves both south and west of Lithuania, Landsbergis stressed.

New Vilnius 'M-1' Radio Station Commissioned

LD2001110290 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 20 TASS—By ELTA correspondent Arturas Makiavicius:

The first non-governmental radio broadcasting station M-1 has begun operating in the capital of Lithuania. Its programmes are on the air every night and can be heard within a 150-kilometer radius around Vilnius.

"The very first letters addressed to us guesses at reasons for the station's name," the station editor Rimantas Pleikys said. "As it is, M stands for music, and one for the Soviet Union's first radio broadcasting station not controlled by the government. Our credo is much good music and latest news."

What are the relations between M-1 and the youth league?

"Our relations are very correct," Pleikys said. "League officials do not dictate to us. We, in turn, give them every opportunity to go on the air, voice their opinions concerning the most pressing issues. They can speak over the telephone, without leaving their offices."

The station's staff consists of just four people. Pleikys, who teachers would-be journalists at Vilnius University, acts as editor and announcer at the station. The Young Communist League helped him and his three colleagues secure considerable financial assistance and adjust profitable links.

League officials very promptly, before five months elapsed, arranged a lease of broadcasting equipment. The West German Sueddeutscher Rundfunk, the Ritter sport confectionery firm and German Social Democrats helped out with other equipment.

"Our prime task is to win listeners. This is why in addition to pop and rock music, we plan to devote special time to other music styles," Pleikys said. We shall introduce the interradio programme and the "Mailbag" to review numerous publications of various movements.

The programme will also feature commercials and "music at your request" shows. Anyone is welcome to express his wish in any language whatever, provided he pays accordingly." [Quotation marks as received]

M-1 is not the Young Communist League's first successful venture—its LIETUVOS RYTAS (LITHUANIAN MORNING) is presently the most popular newspaper in the republic. Its circulation is nearly 580,000 copies.

Two Party Committees Emerge in Vilnius

LD2001220590 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila:

The Vilnius city organisation of the Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP) is living through a critical period. This is how Kiastusis Zaleckas, first secretary of the Vilnius city committee of the LCP, defined the state of affairs in the organisation when opening a plenary meeting of the LCP's Vilnius city committee.

That this is really so was confirmed by subsequent developments. Following a brief opening part, an interval was announced at the plenum. Members of the city committee were re-registered, following which the sessions of two virtually different city committees of the Vilnius party organisation were held.

Members of the LCP city committee who support the decisions of the LCP's 20th congress on the party's independence discussed matters pertaining to the holding of a city party conference, scheduled for March 10, and the nomination of their candidates for the posts of deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

A plenary meeting of the Vilnius party committee adhering to the platform of the CPSU discussed the results of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania and decided to hold a city party conference among their supporters in February and set up a working group to prepare the conference. The group is headed by Anatoliy Chistyakov, secretary of the LCP city party committee.

Incidentally, at the plenum of the city committee of supporters of the independent Communist Party, it was decided to suspend Chistyakov's powers as secretary of city committee of the party.

So, there are now two central committees of the LCP in Lithuania and two city committees in the capital. Both call on people to show tolerance for various views on the processes of restructuring within the party.

Hardly anyone in the republic knows today what the final outcome will be. But one thing is clear: the division grows deeper with every passing day while possibilities to find compromsie solutions become increasingly illusory.

Recent Political Events in Lithuania Reviewed

PM1901130390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Leonid Kapelyushnyy: "Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Vilnius— The new week of January in Lithuania proved rich in political events and decisions. The Supreme Soviet session, having accepted the resignation of V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, elected A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, head of the supreme organ of power. Among the first documents signed by the new chairman was a resolution on the USSR Law "on constitutional oversight in the USSR." The republic's Supreme Soviet approved the statement of the Baltic parliamentary group and the people's deputies from Lithuania regarding the law. With a view to defending Lithuania's sovereignty and Lithuania's right to statehood, the session decreed that the "Law on constitutional oversight in the USSR is inoperative on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR as of the day of its adoption."

The situation regarding a referendum on the question of granting the right to vote to servicemen at the forthcoming elections took an unexpected turn.

According to previous Supreme Soviet decisions servicemen could take part in the elections on an equal footing with all citizens. A wave of indignation arose against this. A fierce propaganda campaign against the

Soviet Army, which is already customarily referred to in the republic as an army of occupation, has been under way for over a year. The result is obvious: Some 300,000 signatures were collected to a demand to hold a referendum and to decide whether servicemen can take part in the elections. The outcome of the future individual vote would most likely go against the military men, although a different opinion also exists.

It has been calculated that holding the referendum will cost the republic approximately R1 million. A considerable amount of money. And a number of deputies have suggested that, to save money, no referendum should be held but that to satisfy anti-army sentiments, servicemen should be deprived of the right to vote by repealing the previous decision...

Deputy M. Visakavichyus read out a letter at the session from a group of doctors at the republican children's hospital. Describing the plight of health care for children, the doctors suggested that the R1 million which would go to ascertain what is already a clear-cut issue should be released for the children's needs.

The argument in favor of the servicemen, put by Yonas Guretskas, was as follows: The right to vote is granted to every USSR citizen, it cannot be repealed even by referendum.

Nonetheless the deputies decided to save money and not to hold a referendum and the military will not take part in the voting.

The second Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was an event of great importance. Among other issues it discussed the results of the visit of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to Lithuania. The plenum adopted a resolution noting that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania will help mutual understanding between the CPSU and the Lithuanian Communist Party and the adoption of a decision acceptable to both sides. But it also says:

"The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee states to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the resolution on the party's autonomy is the radical, natural, and democratic perestroyka of the party predetermined by the new realities of Lithuanian life. The Communist Party intends to adhere firmly to the principles of equal cooperation with the CPSU. We propose assessing the program and status of the Lithuanian Communist Party as a model for perestroyka in the CPSU which should be examined at the 28th party congress."

The event of the week was the resignation of the presidium and secretaries of the Lithuanian republican trade unions council. It was accepted by the Lithuanian republican trade unions council plenum which discussed the letter from a group of trade union leaders concerning their lack of confidence in the leadership of the trade unions. A temporary coordination committee for the Lithuanian trade union movement was formed.

Ukrainian Party Election Platform Discussed

Decree Issued

90UN0626A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Dec 89 p 1

[Decree issued by Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Kiev: "On the Platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and Local Soviets of the Republic"; date not given]

[Text] The platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine for the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and local soviets of the republic and the text of the appeal to the voters is approved. They are to be published in republic and oblast newspapers and a brochure and platform are to be published.

The Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the party obkoms [oblast committees], raykoms [rayon committees], and gorkoms [city committees], and the local party organizations are to provide extensive clarification of the provisions of the platform in the labor collectives and in the places of residence of the population through the mass media.

The work centers are tasked to inform the people about the activity of local party organizations for providing for perestroyka and preparing for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine as well as measures that have been taken to improve the socioeconomic and sociopolitical situation and also to improve living conditions.

All principled and well-argued points are to be made in defense of socialist values, for toppling political demagogy, and unmasking attempts to defame the party and its policy. People are to be shown the danger that comes from extremist and antisocialist forces.

In party political work they are to disclose the significance of the elections for implementing political reform and increasing the role of the soviets as organs of people's power and also the importance of the formation of a corps of deputies which will enjoy the confidence of the people and will be in a position to accelerate the course of perestroyka and carry out radical transformations in the economy and other spheres of life.

The Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are to take into account in their practical work the suggestions made in the speeches at the Plenum by party committees and members of the Central Committee commissions.

Platform Published

90UN0626C Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Platform issued by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and local soviets of the republic in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] Elections of Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies and local soviets will be held on 4 March 1990. They will be an important stage in the reform of the political system and the establishment of the authority of the soviets at all levels. The new election laws guarantee the people free expression of their will and make it possible to form a corps of deputies that is capable of taking responsibility for the fate of perestroyka.

The transformations begun by the party have radically changed the sociopolitical atmosphere. The society is becoming truly democratic and humane, and its highest value is man.

But still the process of renewal is not uniform, perestroyka is encountering significant obstacles, and so far it is not producing an appreciable improvement of life. The first thing to be noticed is the legacy of stagnation. Also having an effect are the mistakes of the transition period, the half-way, not always justified decisions of the union republic and local organs of power, and the reduction of discipline and responsibility in the labor collectives. We have not yet managed to halt the negative processes in the economy, the imbalance in the consumer market, and the growth of deficits. In the society there is increased alarm about the increasing social tension, the conflicts on national soil, the growth of crime, and the deterioration of the ecological situation.

Recognizing its responsibility for solving the problems that exist, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine considers it its duty to present the people with a preelection platform and lay out its position on the issues that are bothering the people the most.

In the area of socioeconomic development. In order for the economy really to turn in the direction of the demands and needs of the people, we are carrying out a program of structural rearrangement of the republic national economy which envisions accelerated development of the processing and science-intensive branches, conversion of defense industry enterprises, and a sharp increase in the production of consumer goods. Even in 1990 their output will double as compared to this year.

In the forthcoming five-year plan the resources used for increasing the fund for consumption and nonindustrial construction is to increase no less than one and a half fold as compared to this year. This will make it possible to satisfy the population's demand for the majority of goods that are now in short supply, including construction materials.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine attaches primary significance to solving such an urgent problem as the food problem. The largest crops of grain, sunflowers, and sugar beets harvested this year will make it possible as early as next year to improve the supply of food products for the population. Special attention is being devoted to increasing the output and improving the quality of products for children.

The radical updating of economic relations in the agrarian sector, more complete disclosure on this basis of the potential of the sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms], and the development of agro-industrial combines, agricultural firms, collective and individual leases, peasant farms and their cooperatives, and private farms of the population will contribute to increasing food resources.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine will establish fair procurement prices for agricultural products, provide for equivalent exchange between industry and agriculture, considerably improve the social development of rural population points, and revive the so-called "unpromising" villages. During the 13th Five-Year Plan in rural areas they will double the level of the provision of gas for housing, improve the water supply, and join all population points with paved roads and bus lines.

There will be effective monitoring of the implementation of such an extremely important task as providing each family with an individual apartment or house. To do this they are increasing the capacities of the construction industry and the construction materials industry so as to increase the resources necessary for expanding housing construction, particularly with the use of their own resources and cooperative and individual building.

Party organizations of the republic will expand the network of enterprises and institutions of education, public health, trade, consumer and municipal services, and transportation, they will resolutely impose order here, and they will root out violations and abuses. By the end of the forthcoming five-year period the population's need for hospital beds and medications will be practically satisfied. In each oblast it is intended to create modern diagnostic centers and improve maternity and child care. In the next few years it is intended to basically solve the problem of children's preschool institutions, to move general education institutions from their unsuitable premises, and to create a reliable material base for homes for the elderly, and children's homes and boarding schools for orphans. There will be considerable improvement in the provision of dormitories and food facilities for students of all ages.

Additional measures will be taken to improve the living conditions for veterans of war and labor, invalids, widows, large families and those with young children, and middle-aged and single people, and to expand benefits and social aid for them. They shall implement a

concrete program that envisions stepping up social protection of women and improving conditions for their labor and life.

The Central Committee considers it an important task during this difficult period to help youth to find their place in solving the fundamental problems of the society, while avoiding being too protective, and it will in all ways support initiative and the search for the new, and create the conditions necessary for creative self-expression and civic development.

It must be recognized that it is impossible to achieve radical changes in the social sphere without improvement of the economy and without a significant increase in the volume of production. To do this it is necessary to accelerate scientific and technical progress, to increase labor productivity, and to radically improve the quality of products and their ability to compete on the world market. Problems of labor, technological, state, and contractual discipline and organization and responsibility have now become especially crucial. Strikes and other actions that complicate an already complex situation have fatal consequences.

The Central Committee considers the current situation in the socioeconomic sphere to be a crisis and is strictly supervising the implementation of the extraordinary measures developed by the government for normalizing the situation.

The solution to the crucial socioeconomic problems will undoubtedly be aided by the republic's changeover in 1991 to principles of self-management, cost recovery, and self-financing. We shall expand the rights of the republic and the local soviets in solving problems of the distribution and development of productive forces and the utilization of the land and other resources. In fulfilling our commitments to the country's national economic complex we shall demand the same thing of other union management organs and our partners in other republics.

Contributing in all ways to the development of various forms of socialist ownership, primarily public, we shall resolutely speak out against alienating the workers from the means of production and the results of their labor as well as any attempts to restore capitalism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine will consistently affirm social justice and will unwaveringly realize one of the definitive principles of socialism: Wages according to results and quality. Along with all honorable people, communists will wage a resolute struggle against the shadow economy, extravagance, the squandering of resources and funds, and unjustified price increases. Supporting the development of cooperative activity as one of the sources of satisfaction of the needs of the population, at the same time we shall act against wheeler-dealers who under the guise of cooperators go into speculation, create artificial shortages, and dupe people.

In questions of environmental protection. The Central Committee regards the ecological situation that has developed in the republic as extremely unacceptable, it fully shares the alarm of the broad public regarding this, and it will work for a radical improvement. Our common pain and our unhealing wound is Chernobyl. Relying on support from the population, the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers have halted the construction of the Odesskaya and Kharkovskaya nuclear plants, the Chigirinskaya and Krymskaya nuclear plants, and the increase of the capacities of the Yuzhno-Ukrainskaya AES [nuclear power plant]. The union government has been faced with the problem of a scientifically substantiated restriction on the development of the Rovenskaya and Khmelnitskaya AES's and the shutting down of the power blocks of the Chernobylskaya AES. More assistance is being rendered to the population of the regions of Kiev, Zhitomir, Rovno, and Chernigov Oblasts that suffered from the Chernobyl disaster. We shall accelerate the evacuation of people from population points where it is not guaranteed that they can live safely, above all from 14 villages of Zhitomir and Kiev oblasts in 1990.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine is directing the efforts of scientists and specialists toward the development of a new program for energy supply that is based on modern principles of safety, energy saving, and the introduction of ecologically pure technologies. We think that new construction in such branches as ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, energy engineering, and chemistry should be carried out after an independent, nondepartmental expert evaluation.

Resources are being mobilized for improving the natural environment in Dneprodzerzhinsk, Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Kommunarsk, Kremenchug, Kiev, Krivoy Rog, Mariupol, Odessa, Cherkassy, and other population points in order to restore, develop, and preserve the recreational zones of the Crimea, the Carpathians, the northwest Black Sea area, and the Azov coastline and to implement a comprehensive program for the protection of the Dnepr, the small rivers, and the forests. During the next five years, through central financing and more extensive use of money from enterprises and organizations, capital investments in environmental protection measures will double. We have established state control over their utilization. Automotive transportation, which is the main cause of pollution in the cities, will be fully changed over to nonethylated gasoline.

In the area of science, education, and culture. Party organizations of the republic will rely more actively on science when solving the complicated problems of restructuring the economy and the social sphere and protecting the environment. We attach a great deal of significance to bringing scientific organizations into cost accounting relations, strengthening the development of basic sciences through budget financing, and developing research on electronics and information science, materials science and energy conservation, soil science and

agronomy, genetic engineering and biotechnology, ecology and medicine, economics and social sciences.

One of the most important priorities in the activity of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine is concern for the younger generation and a reform of the higher and secondary schools. Under any conditions we must find the resources necessary for this. We shall raise the social status of the teachers and enlist the broad public in solving the radical problems of training and education of children and youth.

We consider it necessary to take fuller advantage of the educational potential of literature, history, and other humanities disciplines. We are carrying out a program of research, study, and expansion of propaganda of the history of the Ukraine. The development of love for our land, history, and culture will be combined with the formation of internationalist convictions and a purposeful struggle against nationalism and chauvinism.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine attaches exceptional significance to the comprehensive development of the Ukrainian national culture and the cultures of other nationalities whose representatives are living on the territory of the republic. A comprehensive program for the development of culture in the Ukrainian SSR during the period up to the year 2005, which will be provided with the corresponding financial, material-technical, and personnel resources, is directed toward the achievement of this goal. In particular, it is intended to restore the valuable monuments of architecture, history, and culture, and to create conditions for more dynamic development of art, literature, folk creativity, and aesthetic education and to contribute to the development of the Ukrainian culture and language outside the republic.

In keeping with the law on languages adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet, the Ukrainian SSR will consistently follow a course toward the establishment of the Ukrainian language as the state language, expansion of the sphere of its use, and satisfaction of the linguistic-cultural needs of representatives of all nationalities living on the territory of the republic. We shall contribute to better mastery by all segments of the population of the Russian language as the means of interethnic communication and mutual cultural enrichment of the peoples of the USSR.

We have a great deal of work ahead of us in the field of culture and party organizations are calling for the scholarly and artistic intelligentsia to cooperate actively. It is important to use the best examples of national and world art to oppose the mass onslaught of low-grade "mass" culture.

In the area of state construction and further democratization of social life. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine consistently speaks out in favor of legislative establishment and to ensure the state sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR as a part of the renewed Soviet federation and is following a course toward establishment of real power of the soviets of people's deputies and the creation of the legal, material, and financial foundations necessary for this.

We shall be concerned about the supremacy of the law and consistent provision of the constitutional rights and freedoms of man—civil, political, economic, social, national, and cultural and full implementation in the Ukrainian SSR of international agreements on questions of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Our fundamental policy is to preserve and enrich the national uniqueness of the Ukrainian people and to achieve harmonious interethnic relations and equal rights of all citizens regardless of their nationality, language, religion, or time of residence on the territory of the republic.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine resolutely condemns the crimes of Stalinism and the mass repressive measures against party, soviet, and military personnel, the intelligentsia, workers, peasants and against entire peoples, particularly the Crimean tatars. We support the declaration of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the repressive acts against peoples who were subjected to forced resettlement were illegal and criminal and that their rights are to be restored.

Party committees will wage an uncompromising struggle against bureaucracy, which became especially entrenched during the times of stagnation. We are developing new relations between party organs and trade unions, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], cooperative, women's, veterans, and other organizations—relations based on trust, cooperation, and mutual understanding. We are in favor of dialogue and cooperation with all independent associations which come out with constructive initiatives and through their activity contribute to the cause of perestroyka and stand on principles of socialism and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. At the same time we see it as the duty of communists to protect perestroyka from ambitious and unscrupulous politicians and demagogues, to repulse those who try to undermine the foundations of our system, stir up antisocialist, separatist attitudes, and sow mistrust and discord among the people. We think that decisions concerning the most important issues of social life and particularly those such as ecological ones and the attitude toward various religious faiths and historical symbolism should be made on the basis of extensive study of public opinion, including referendums.

The creation of a socialist law-governed state also requires immediate practical measures for strengthening law and order and resolutely stepping up the fight against crime, especially organized crime. In order to guarantee that the citizens will be safe from encroachment on their rights, life, health, honor, and property, we shall radically improve the work of law enforcement organs, strengthen their material and technical base, and provide for social and legal protection of their workers. We think

that labor collectives and the general public should be enlisted more actively in strengthening law and order. A unified front against crime—such is the order of the day.

Supporting the policy of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government toward the establishment of new thinking in international relations and maintaining the country's defense at the level of reasonable sufficiency, party organizations will deepen ties between labor collectives and scholarly institutions and military units and subdivisions and strengthen the patriotic and international education of youth and their preparation for service in the Armed Forces. We shall repulse any attempts to degrade the military feats of veterans or today's military labor of defenders of the homeland. In the republic we shall do everything necessary so that participants in the Great Patriotic War, internationalist troops, and military servicemen are surrounded by general attention and concern. In 1990-1991 no less than five percent of the dwelling space that is introduced, regardless of departmental jurisdiction, will be offered to military servicemen who have been released into the reserve or have retired, which will make it possible to radically improve the their conditions of life.

The realization of the republic's sovereignty in relations with foreign countries becomes important during the period of perestroyka. The Ukrainian SSR as a founding member of the United Nations is participating more actively in this and other international organizations. Next in line is to give real content to the constitutional provisions concerning relations between the union republic and foreign states. We shall contribute in all ways to further expansion of economic, cultural, scientific, and other ties between the republic and all countries which are ready to establish them for our mutual interest. We shall be concerned about expanding all-around contacts with Ukrainians living abroad.

On perestroyka in the republic party organizations. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine proceeds from the idea that the political reform and the processes of democratization and expansion of glasnost objectively determine the position and role of party organizations in the social life of the republic. In order to carry out the mission of a political leader in perestroyka, the Communist Party of the Ukraine is stepping up its own internal renewal and purification and trying to provide an example of democratic development, conscientious party discipline, and organizational and ideological unity on principles of democratic centralism. We think that party authority should not be declared but established through concrete deeds for the good of the people. We are in favor of a clear-cut delineation of functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. Party organizations will implement the political line through communists elected to soviets and management organs of social organizations. Every communist, regardless of the position he may hold, bears responsibility both to the party and to the people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine will consistently be guided by the political line developed by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference and will in all ways increase the role, independence, and authority of all party units and, above all, the local party organizations.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine will go to its 28th Congress with a new quality and with considerably renewed personnel purged of those who are not worthy of the high calling of a communist. This will be promoted by the consistent assertion of the principle of selectivity, competitiveness, and alternative staffing in personnel work. We shall make sure that workers come to leadership positions with modern thinking—people who are competent, professionally trained, honest, decent, modest, and enjoy universal respect. An attentive attitude toward personnel will be combined with high demands. In personnel questions the party organizations will consult with the public and the labor collectives, and in our work we shall rely on people who are willing and able to work and will find ways of solving urgent problems under any conditions.

We shall constantly strengthen our ties with the workers and decisively speak out against any attempts to set the party against the people, to crowd the CPSU out from political leadership, or to negate its difficult and courageous struggle for socialism. The Communist Party of the Ukraine will firmly hold Marxist-Leninist positions and will hold high the red banner of Lenin, the banner of October.

We shall take measures to increase the militancy and the ideological maturity of the party press and all the mass media. Freedom of creativity, the journalists' own vision of problems, and extensive glasnost should be organically combined with political moderation, competence, responsibility, and objectivity.

In making its preelection platform public, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine is hoping that it will be greeted with understanding and support from everyone who cares about the fate of the nation and the ideas of socialism and perestroyka, who wishes good and happiness for their people.

Now as never before we need stability in the society, unity of all healthy forces, and a deep awareness by each person of the significance of perestroyka for our life and for the historic destiny of our people. Against those who are trying to speculate on our current difficulties and problems and want to use the election campaign for a dirty political game the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine takes a clear and honest position: Consistently following a line toward renewal, not concealing difficulties, and working along with all the people on overcoming them. We are convinced that it is possible to change things for the better only through joint conscientious, creative, and innovative work and conscientious and honest performance of our civic duty.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine calls for all voters—communists and nonparty members, workers, kolkhoz workers, intelligentsia, veterans and youth, atheists and believers—to unite closely on this platform and actively support the worthy candidate people's deputies.

Ukrainian Party Appeal to Voters Published

90UN0626B Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Dec 89 p 1

[Appeal issued by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in Kiev: "To All Voters of the Soviet Ukraine"; date not given]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Today each of us is faced with the questions: Where are we going? What has perestroyka done for us?

With all the various answers to these questions, every unprejudiced person understands well that perestroyka is the life and fate of the people, it is the preservation of our socialist choice.

During this fateful time for the homeland, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine considers it of principal importance to emphasize that the radical measures taken by the Communist Party for renewing society have brought about deep changes in the socioeconomic sphere and in political and spiritual life.

Democratic processes in society are developing comprehensively, glasnost is becoming deeper, guarantees of the constitutional rights of all citizens are being established, and such common human moral values as goodness, justice, and mercy and real freedom of belief are returning.

A real national and spiritual renewal of the Ukrainian people is taking place and conditions are being created for the development of the cultures and languages of all nationalities living in the republic.

Our past—in which victories and failures, the bright and the tragic, hopes and disenchantments merge—is being given a fair evaluation.

The command-administrative system is being dismantled, the radical economic reform—which causes production to turn in the direction of the consumer—is deepening, and social justice is being established.

Perestroyka has elevated man, is making him the real master of the country, and has motivated the public to fight for healthy living conditions and a clean environment.

The new political thinking engendered by perestroyka provides our country with firm positions and growing authority throughout the world.

The guarantee of perestroyka is the Communist Party. Only it is really capable of expressing the interests of all classes and social groups, consolidating society, and providing for civil peace in our common home.

A renewed party must operate in a renewed society—this is how we define the essence of our work for preparing for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Communists are convinced that only perestroyka will provide for a final eradication of bureaucracy and departmental dictatorship, the creation of a law-governed state, and reliable protection of the individual rights and freedoms of citizens as well as free national development of the Ukrainian and all other peoples.

Only perestroyka will provide for the creation of an effective economy and the elimination of deficits through granting the labor collectives extensive rights and developing state, cooperative, leasing, joint-stock, mixed, and individual forms of management.

On the path of perestroyka we shall achieve economic independence and the state sovereignty of our republic, we shall improve the Soviet federation and fill it with new democratic content, we shall overcome national discord, and strengthen the friendship of nations and nationalities of the country.

Who and what is threatening perestroyka today?

On the one hand these are forces which, masked by perestroyka slogans and speculating on its difficulties, are striving to destabilize the situation, to take advantage of the elections for their own narrow, self-centered purposes, and to force the people onto the path of political adventures.

In order to achieve their goals they resort to lies, base slander, and unrealistic promises. The most extremist elements do not even stop before inflaming national animosity or even using slogans promoting a fratricidal "civil war."

On the other hand, there are those who are unable to overcome conservative attitudes and are trying to return society to its old path.

This path leads into a remote corner of history.

Dear compatriots! Esteemed voters!

History will never forgive us if we allow the perestroyka processes to be turned back and socialism to be jeopardized. Distinguish clearly between the honest competitiveness of capitalist platforms and the pre-election demagogy of people who are obviously zealous for power.

Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by a lofty phrase and the babble of lies which would divert your forces from real participation in the renewal of life.

Recognizing the responsibility of this historic moment, the Communist Party of the Ukraine goes to the elections of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and the

local soviets with a clear, open, and honest position and calls for everyone to rally around its pre-election platform.

Vote for candidate deputies—communists and nonparty members—who support the platform of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and speak out in favor of socialism, peace, and well-being in each home.

[Signed] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine

Podolskiy Official Views Ukrainian Party

LD1501191490 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Interview with Ivan Saliy, first secretary of the Podolskiy Rayon CPSU Committee [raykom] in Kiev, by unidentified questioner—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Question] Do you think that those who favor removing Article 6 from our Constitution are right? [passage omitted]

[Saliy] I am acquainted well with various ideas and arguments on this issue, whether it would be useful to remove the Article now or later. All I know is that the party's prestige is not determined by the presence of this Article in the Constitution. Quite the reverse, its presence belittles this prestige. [passage omitted]

[Question] It is no secret any more that it was precisely for the radicalism of your views that at the spring plenum of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee you were sharply criticized by the former first secretary. Are your relations any better with the renovated leadership of the republican party organization?

[Saliy] As they say, we work together, but no great solidarity between us is evident. [passage omitted]

[Question] According to the results of a public poll carried out by Psychology Department of Kiev University, your name tops the list of those whom electors would like to see as mayor of Kiev. And electors placed you as third in the list for the post of president of the Ukraine. This convincingly shows that your popularity among people is very high and who, by the way, place you on the left-wing of our party. Where do you see yourself in the party's spectrum?

[Saliy] I regard myself as one of those communists who strive to do things in such a way as to make our party trustworthy for the people and all communists.

Ukraine MVD Official on Role of Internal Troops

LD1801134290 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 2015 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Interview with Major General Vasiliy Nikiforovich Sanin, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affaris (MVD) Political Directorate for the Ukraine and Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republics (SSR), by unidentified correspondent, in the studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Vasiliy Nikiforovich, today one can hear that the internal troops amount almost to an obstacle on the road toward democracy. Some people even say that they fulfill the functions of a gendarme.

[Sanin] Let me put it this way. Democracy, a law-governed state will be worth nothing if the rights of citizens and public order are not defended from extremists, hooligans, and all those who strive to attain their goals by directly violating the law. Our soldier is yesterday's worker, collective farmer or student. In a word, he represents the society. He has put a uniform on not to disperse demonstrations or infringe on constitutional freedoms of Soviet citizens, but to prevent hotheads from provoking blood shedding. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Your military formations are mostly accused by informal organizations. What is your attitude to them?

[Sanin] We favor constant cooperation with all organizations—party, government, trade union, and other public formations. But one cannot but see that certain statements of leaders, say, of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union are directed against the interests of society. [passage omitted] We do not hide our own problems. Thus, it was due to our insistence that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA came out with an acute material called: "The Forgotten Garrison, devoted to the service of internal troops in Chernobyl. And although it was not very pleasant to read criticisms addressed to our units, all the same we were grateful to the paper for bringing the problems out into the open.

[Correspondent] Very well, let us talk more about Chernobyl. Quite often we meet relatives of servicemen doing their stint in the Chernobyl seclusion zone. Their wish is that their young men, while on draft duty, should not be sent to serve around Chernobyl. We receive many such requests from mothers and visitors.

[Sanin] Yes, I agree. Only elder servicemen should serve there. [passage omitted] Gradual withdrawal of conscript servicemen from Chernobyl has already begun. Almost all our subdetachments have by now left the seclusion zone. Only a small number of them serve there on a shift rotation. After their stints they are sent for rest in a well-appointed military town. Servicemen on a shift duty in Chernobyl are fed rather well and their health is constantly checked by medics. Those suffering from illness are not sent to Chernobyl. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Maj. Gen. Sanin has been nominated as a candidate for the Ukraine SSR Supreme Soviet at a constituency in Kharkov.

Orthodox, Catholic Leaders Issue Talks Communique

LD1701202190 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The position of Orthodox Christians and Eastern Catholics in the Western Ukraine, as well as prospects for the normalisation of their relations were discussed by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church.

The meeting was held at the patriarchal residence at St. Daniil's Monastery in Moscow. It lasted for five days. The communique devoted to the meeting says that the delegations conducted the discussion in the spirit of brotherly love and confidence.

Taking part in the discussion from the Catholic side were Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, honorary president of the Vatican's Secretariat for Christian Unity, Archbishop Edward Cassidy, chairman of the Secretariat, and other leaders of the Catholic Church.

The delegation of the Russian Orthodox Chuch included the patriarchal exarch to the Ukraine, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, Metropolitan Juvenaliy of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, chairing the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, all of them members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. Archbishop Irinei of Lvov and Drogobych took part in the negotiations.

Following the negotiations Metropolitan Juvenaliy and Archbishop Edward Cassidy held a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The reporters were told that the delegations met with representatives of Eastern Catholics and with Orthodox Christians who arrived in Moscow from the Western Ukraine and listened to their judgements.

The participants in the conversation are of the opinion that relations between believers of the two confessions in the Western Ukraine should be resolved in the light of the Gospel and in the spirit of a dialogue between sister churches. This is said in the communique of the meeting.

Both delegations expressed the wish to continue the contacts to widen and deepen their consensus.

News Conference on West Ukraine Uniates Held

PM2201133990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by G. Charodeyev: "Dialogue Was Sincere"]

[Text] A meeting of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches was held 12 through 17 January 1990 in Moscow in the patriarchal residence of Svyato-Danilov Monastery.

A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists addressed by Metropolitan Yuvenaliy of Krutitskiy and Kolomna was devoted to this event.

He reported that at the meeting the delegations, in a spirit of fraternal love and trust, had had a thorough discussion of the situation of the orthodox and the Eastern Catholics (Uniates) in the West Ukraine and the prospects for normalizing their relations. Concerned at the situation which has taken shape, the delegations' members invited representatives of the Eastern Catholic and orthodox communities to Moscow. There were meetings between the Roman Catholic delegation and representatives of the uniates and also between the Moscow patriarchate and the West Ukraine orthodox community. Then both delegations met with these groups.

The members of the delegation are convinced that believers should promote Soviet society's efforts in building a genuine rule-of-law state where all citizens can freely express their religious convictions. That applies to the Eastern catholics in the West Ukraine, who should have the right to form church structures within the framework of the Roman Catholic Church, and to the orthodox believers belonging to the Ukrainian exarchate.

Metropolitan Yuvenaliy then said:

"During the talks a joint document was elaborated reflecting the agreement reached and the main questions to be studied. In the concluding communique we voiced the following thought: 'Expressing their concern over the situation in the West Ukraine, representatives of both churches noted that the problems of interchurch relations in this region do not arise on religious soil and state firmly that enmity and violence are incompatible with the Christian spirit and moreover that they should be denounced because otherwise our churches cannot give a common testimony of the peace and loved bestowed on them by Christ to save the world.'"

Answering the IZVESTIYA correspondent's question about the results of the meeting of the churches' representatives, Edward Cassidy, the chairman of the Papal council for promoting Christian unity, said:

"The dialogue was sincere. Much was made clear. Of course, a serious problem cannot be wholly resolved in such a short time. But I think we succeeded in preventing clashes on religious grounds and eliminating contradictions between the two churches. Otherwise that would also be a serious obstacle to continuing dialogue between Catholics and Orthodox. Today we opened the way to the joint solution of the Uniate problem in the West Ukraine. The joint document which has been elaborated will, after its approval by the leading clergymen of both churches, be handed over for publication in the press. We intend to continue meetings between representatives of the Roman Catholic and Russian churches in the immediate future."

Ukrainians Protest Planned Radar Station

LD2101213190 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] A 2,000-strong meeting of protest against the construction of a radar station in Transcarpathia was held in Uzhgorod. The residents were dissatisfied with the ecological non reliability of this project. Representatives of the Soviet Defense Ministry, who were present at the Uzhgorod meeting, assured all those taking part that the public opinion will play a decisive role in determining the future destiny of this radar station.

Human Chain Formed in Ukraine 21 January

LD2101223290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Kiev, 21 Jan, RATAU and TASS correspondents Stanislav Volnyanskiy and Aleksey Petrunya report: The inhabitants of many populated parts of Ukraine formed a human chain today [21 January]. It went from Lvov to the capital of the republic, Kiev. The 71st anniversary of the act which proclaimed the unification of two states, which existed at that time on a significant part of the territory of Ukraine, was marked in this way.

The decision to hold such an action was made by the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka. An appeal by the movement says: "We await every person who is not indifferent to the fate of Ukraine and, at the same time, to his own fate and the fate of his children on the road of unity—together, having joined hands—in order to feel that there will no longer be a force that could disunite us." The call was supported by a number of public organizations. [passage omitted]

In 1922 the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic voluntarily joined the composition of the USSR. The striving of generations for unity took place only in 1939, when West Ukrainian lands were reunited with Soviet Ukraine....

In Kiev the "human chain" extended along streets in the center. A meeting took place on the square by the 1000-year-old Cathedral of St. Sophia, where 71 years ago the act of unification was proclaimed. [passage omitted]

Many speakers stressed that national disagreement must not be allowed to seize the republic. Well-known writer Oles Honchar called on those present to turn, on behalf of the Ukrainian people, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia with a call to stop the fratricidal bloodshed.

Together with this, there were also calls that were heard at the meeting for the separation of Ukraine from the USSR, for the use of forthcoming elections to create "Soviets without Communists", and for the formation of a government consisting of supporters of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka.

"It is perfectly natural that people want to know their history", thinks Leonid Kravchuk, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. "But historical problems are not resolved at meetings. Only scholarship [nauka] based on documents can restore the historical truth. It is not the fault but the misfortune of people in that they do not know history, have not read the documents and corresponding literature. It is necessary to know the course of events and the real state of affairs concerning them, then a meeting and speeches will be constructive, that is, dictated by the striving to clear up and not to complicate the situation.

Further Reportage on All-Union Conference

Workers' Debates Reported

PM2301105590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2-3

[TASS account of 18 January debates at Moscow All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Workers: "Energetic Efforts for Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] There was an exchange of opinions on a wide-range of problems pertaining to perestroyka. [passage omitted]

Using his own example, R.L. Musting, a farmer from Estonia, tried to explain to those present the advantages of conscientious labor on an individual peasant farm. The audience listened with understanding to the speaker when he said that such farms are not for those who want to get rich quick. According to his opinion, only people who adopt honest work on the land as a way of life can expect proper returns.

Subsequently, analyzing the character of reciprocal relations betweeen the peasants and the prevailing system of planning, supply, and trade in their output, the representative of Estonia's individual farmers drew attention to the many problems which are as yet unresolved. In particular, he is worried about the differences in purchasing prices for a number of products in various regions and also the lack of balance, as he put it, in the cost of industrial goods and crop and livestock produce. Give us land and establish normal purchasing prices, and we will fully meet the country's requirement for food. At the same time he noted that it is necessary to conclude for longer periods contracts for land use with people who are interested in this.

In the speaker's view supplies of machinery and equipment to "individual farmers" and leasing and cooperative collectives must be substantially improved. Uniform conditions must be created for all forms of ownership. The speaker also expressed himself in favor of an urgent review of the peasant output norms and marketing procedures.

V.G. Ivanov, plane operator at the Leningrad "Izhorskiy Zavod" production association, described the sociopolitical and economic situation in the city as extremely tense. The cost of living is rising, most consumer goods are not available, there is not enough food to go around. This problem has been around for years, but it has grown more acute. The Baltic republics have started a blockade. The shortfall in meat deliveries totals 40,000 tonnes. In the first quarter we were to receive 15,000 tonnes, but only Lithuania has agreed to deliver 1,000 tonnes. The same applies to oblasts around Leningrad. All this has led to the need to introduce a coupon system.

However, the worker criticized the introduction of rationing in Leningrad. During the blockade in wartime the whole country helped Leningrad to survive, and now we are introducing coupons and thus depriving people from Pskov, Novgorod, Kalinin, and Vologda of the opportunity to buy food.

The speaker noted with regret that in some places the democracy, which was sought so eagerly by everyone, has turned into anarchy. We do not need the cutthroat "democracy" which is in evidence in some republics. Resolute measures should have been taken promptly. It is time to pass on from words to deeds—the state must enforce the laws which have been adopted with a firm hand. The firm hand will not touch those people who need no urging or prompting. It will only touch those who deliberately refuse to work normally.

The representative of the 5,000-strong detachment of "Izhorskiy Zavod" Communists stated that they are pained by the situation which has taken shape in the party. At the association alone, some 20 people are resigning from the party every month; true workers, who have lost faith in the party, are resigning.

On behalf of the "Izhorskiy Zavod" Communists, the speaker handed M.S. Gorbachev a package of proposals aimed at improving the situation within the party.

Before announcing a break, M.S. Gorbachev, chairing the conference, read out a number of memorandums submitted to the conference presidium. The proposals contained in them could be summed in the main as exhortations to focus attention on what is hampering perestroyka and what should be done to ensure the further development of society, and to refuse to listen to self-congratulatory economic reports.

A.S. Drozdov, worker at the Minsk "Vychislitelnaya Tekhnika" production association and author of a memorandum to the conference presidium in which he suggested that a list of speakers should not be drawn up in advance, took the floor. He justified his proposal by reference to the impermissibility of allowing this consultation between the political leadership and the working people to deteriorate into a run-of-the-mill production conference. It is possible to discuss production problems, too, he said, but paramount attention should be paid to questions connected with the current level of prestige of the party and individual rank-and-file Communists. In the speaker's opinion, this level is currently extremely low.

He illustrated his views with specific examples from the life of the primary party organization of the enterprise where, for instance, there are 50 Communists per 300 workers and yet nonparty people account for more than half of the foremen and mentors.

For this very reason, the speaker claimed, the decisions adopted by the party organization meet with no response from the nonparty people who are working alongside them. This is also borne out by the fact that people show no desire to take part in open party meetings.

One of the consequences of the loss of party influence on the masses, is the lamentable situation as regards the training of replacements, the rearing of the rising generation.

He favored complete glasnost in the work of party committees and organizations from the bottom to the top, and expressed his perplexity at, for instance, the fact that though being a party member, he was unable to acquaint himself exhaustively with the materials of the CPSU Central Committee plenums. [passage omitted]

N.S. Vasilchenkov, shop foreman and chairman of the labor collective council at the Moscow Oblast agricultural machinery plant named for Ukhtomskiy, expressed serious concern at the situation which is taking shape in the production sphere.

The working class, he said, is not indifferent to the way in which the political situation in the country is developing. An unbridled campaign has been launched against the party. This is being done with a major aim—to divorce the party from the people in the hope that everything else will fall apart by itself. The aim is to do this using the workers as the instrument.

What are the "leaders" who are hiding behind the working class proposing? They are unable to put forward a platform, the speaker said, they simply have none. They are defending their own rather than the people's interests. Calling for strikes, destruction, and bloodshed on ethnic grounds, they are trying to make capital. The shadow economy is gathering momentum. No matter what camouflage these "leaders" use, workers are perfectly aware of what is going on.

The party has accepted the full burden of responsibility for the past and the future. It must carry perestroyka through to its conclusion. Workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and Communists must spare no effort to ensure that perestroyka does not stall but progresses to the broad highway of building a multinational, rule-of-law state. A dividing line must be drawn between democracy and demagoguery. Laws to protect the working people, servicemen, and the militia must be enforced. Criminals must be stopped in their tracks to ensure that people do not perish in peacetime. [passage omitted]

P.G. Vasiloy, fitter at the Kishinev "Moldavgidromash" Production Association, believes that the main aim of the conference is to get to understand each other and to pool efforts to resolve all the problems which have accumulated.

Empty shelves are an insult, the worker said. It looks like we are incapable of providing ourselves with the goods we need, cheap and high-grade goods. How can we rectify this situation? Above all, the speaker said, it is necessary to establish order in the tax system and system of levies into the state budget. Different rates of levies from profits should be abolished, and enterprises should be allowed to dispose of their profits as they see fit.

With reference to cooperatives producing consumer goods, the speaker said that they should be allowed to function only in conjuction with factories and plants and to market their output at state prices.

He then dwelt on the problem of food production. Large quantities of vegetables and fruit are grown in Moldavia, however, up to 30 percent of the crop perishes and people's labor is wasted. It is necessary to provide agro-industrial complex enterprises and farms with modern equipment and refrigerators. The absorption of unprofitable collective and state farms [kolkhozes and sovkhozes] by major enterprises could help to resolve this important problem. [passage omitted]

E. Mardonov, assembly shop manager at the the Samarkand "Elektrobytmash" Production Association, said that he travelled to Moscow with a mixture of joy and concern. Joy at the fact that our party has reinstated the Leninist tradition of consulting workers and peasants. Concern for the fate of our perestroyka, yes, our perestroyka because it is we, the working people, who are primarily interested in its success.

Unfortunately, the perestroyka has its opponents. They have chosen the CPSU as the target of their attacks. All sorts of informals and people's fronts are behaving as if they alone were acting in the interests of the working people, claiming that the party has become an impediment to progress toward a better life.

Naturally, the engineer went on, it is necessary to conduct perestroyka more resolutely also within the party itself, to review its Statutes and Program, to to ensure maximum democratization of intraparty relations, and to eliminate the "thromboses" caused by unjustified centralism. It is also necessary to review the status of union republic communist parties. However, the disintegration of the CPSU must not be permitted under any circumstances. After all, this is not just an intraparty matter. It concerns the fate of our whole state, the fate of every citizen.

Touching on the problems of interethnic relations, the speaker said that the whole country is shocked by the manifestations of militant nationalism. It is our firm opinion as workers that such phenomena should be resolutely rebutted. [passage omitted]

At the evening sitting the conference participants honored the memory of the victims of the outrages and crimes committed in recent days in Baku and a number of other population centers in Azerbaijan, and also certain rayons of Armenia.

Before giving the floor to the next speaker, the chairman again read out the memorandums submitted to the presidium and containing proposals "to keep the conference on course" and cut short production reports. The hall reacted with approval to this proposal, however, the subsequent course of the conference showed that by no means all the speakers had heeded these sensible warnings.

One of the memorandums that was read out contained the proposal that speakers should not "exert pressure by using the word 'strike' to achieve the solution of their issues." The conference participants expressed their attitude to this idea by applauding. [passage omitted]

A.S. Sharanovich, fitter and toolmaker at the Minsk Tractor Plant, in his speech voiced the opinion on a number of problems pertaining to the sociopolitical and economic life in the country shared by his enterprise's labor collective. We are convinced, he said, that the aim of the present meeting is to find out from the leadership what, specifically, has changed since our previous conference, what measures have been adopted to resolve the problems raised by our plant at that time, problems pertaining to price formation, material and technical supply, and improvement of the living standards.

We believe, the speaker said, that the paramount task is to establish discipline in the country, adopt more resolute and specific measures in the sphere of the economy, declare an all-out war on the criminal world and the shadow economy, and to ensure equitable conditions for workers and cooperative members.

The speaker dwelt in detail on the problem of the elimination of the consequences of the accident at Chernobyl. This is a tragedy which has affected three republics, he stressed, and they must not be left to cope alone with the trouble in their patch. What is needed is assistance on an all-union scale, commensurate with the dimensions of the catastrophe itself.

Then the chairman read out a memorandum in reply to the Leningrad representatives' criticism concerning meat deliveries from the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. "The reason for the shortfall in deliveries is the abolition of the all-union fund for mixed feeds," says the memorandum. "In view of this, the republic is faced with the problem of sharply reducing the livestock population. If mixed feeds are made available, Latvia will be able to fulfill its commitments and increase the production of meat and milk. Information should be objective and truthful and not one-sided. Half-truths are no use to anyone."

Because of shouts from the floor objecting to the content of the Latvian delegation's memorandum while it was

being read out, it was decided to make an ad hoc investigation of the crux of this problem.

In connection with the complex situation which has taken shape in Azerbaijan and Armenia, a number of conference participants proposed that the floor be given to representatives of these republics. M.S. Gorbachev announced that the delegations from Azerbaijan and Armenia had asked him to meet them. The meeting was to take place immediately after the evening sitting. Its results would be conveyed to the conference participants the following day.

V.I. Khoroshilov, grinder at the Moscow "Kommunar" Plant, said that the perestroyka launched on the initiative of the CPSU has obvious flaws. Among its negative features he cited the decline of discipline and the disintegration of the internal market.

In these conditions, the worker went on, it is very important to ensure that the party, having restructured itself, manages to uphold its prestige which has come under increasingly intense attacks. Meanwhile officials of a number of party organs appear to be paralyzed and do nothing but defend themselves against the attacks. Many mass media are not up to the mark either. In this context the idea was put forward that the party must be even more open in all its dealings, which will bring it even closer to the people and enable it to rid itself of the negative phenomena of the past.

The machine builder devoted part of his speech to problems which his comrades had instructed him to raise. In particular, he declared, it is necessary to launch a merciless struggle against speculation and the mafia in the sphere of trade which are feeding on economic difficulties and shortages. It is necessary to achieve a breakthrough in combating crime, to establish order in the cooperative sector, and to settle its reciprocal relations with the state sector.

V.F. Politanskiy, head of a leasing collective on Stavropol Kray's Kirov Sovkhoz, shared his ideas about how people could be transformed into true masters on the land, a rapid improvement of the food situation could be achieved, and the program of social transformations in the countryside could be implemented.

He regards as absolutely unacceptable the proposals to dissolve kolkhozes (collective farm) and sovkhozes (state farm) as obsolete forms of management. There have been more than enough extremes in agriculture, the agricultural worker recalled, but this never led to abundance on food store shelves. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have by no means exhausted their potential, especially in regions where large-scale crop rotation has been introduced and profound specialization and concentration of production is under way. What these farms need is more independence.

Using his farm as an example, the speaker shared his experience in enhancing the efficiency of agricultural production.

It has become increasingly difficult for me as secretary of the plant party organization, V.N. Ryzhkov, electrical installation worker at the drill plant in Frunze city, said, to uphold our moral values in the eyes of the workers against the backdrop of half-empty store shelves. Many of the acute problems facing us today can, of course be explained as features of the transitional period of the perestroyka: Having dismantled the old mechanism, we are, unfortunately, very slow in adjusting the new mechanism. Our labor collective feels the need for a more fruitful work of the Supreme Soviet in the adoption of effective laws and state enactments. For instance, our enterprise is ready to operate leasing, however clear guidelines on many fundamental questions pertaining to leasing relations are still lacking.

The shortage of legislation, the speaker went on, is however the lesser evil in comparison with the shortage of responsibility which is felt literally at all levels. Citing convincing examples of economic and moral damage sustained by labor collectives as a result of this, the worker declared that the time has come to make leaders at various levels strictly answerable for failure to meet targets and delivery commitments and for tolerating poor discipline. [passage omitted]

With that the official part of the first day of the conference ended. However, by no means all its participants departed from the Kremlin Palace. Numerous working meetings with ministers and department leaders were held.

On Friday morning the exchange of opinions on acute problems of perestroyka will be continued from the rostrum.

Economist's Remarks

LD2001163790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Remarks by Likiya Andreyevna Perevertaylova, chief economist of the "Voskhod" collective farm in Kaliningrad Oblast, at the 19 January session of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Workers in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpt] Speakers have talked, it seems to me, about the self-same sore points and problems that concern regions throughout our country. The same ills and problems also exist in our Kaliningrad oblast. But the trouble is that by virtue of its geographical location, our Kaliningrad oblast is now also, so to speak, a special region.

It has been repeated on numerous occasions that the situation in Lithuania is very serious, but in terms of our geographical position we are situated, it must be said in passing, between Lithuania and Poland. It is a small island of Soviet power, so to speak, at the westernmost garrison of our country. [applause]

And as we were leaving for this conference, the first question put to us by the working people of our oblast

was of course what would happen to our oblast, how we would live and develop in the future. The point is that our oblast is also a multinational one. Around 100 USSR nationalities live there. That is because the oblast was formed as a result of resettlements in 1946, and that is why this question has become so acute now. The fact is that there has already been repeated talk, and perhaps rumors, before to the effect that either they are giving it away to someone, or that they are incorporating it with someone else. But in Kaliningrad and the oblast recently work has been under way with increasing persistence toward turning our Kaliningrad oblast, on new maps, into a lesser Lithuania, so to speak, and there are effectively no more maps showing Kalinigrad oblast as part of the RSFSR, but there is a map in which we are represented as a lesser Lithuania. So the residents of Kalinigrad oblast are very worried about this and are of course awaiting a reply to one question. In connection with this blockade from Lithuania, and the latter's transition to regional financial autonomy, we too would ask for consideration of the question of granting Kalingrad oblast the status of a special independent economic zone to be speeded up, so that we can talk to these comrades as equals. [passage omitted]

Speaker Quizzes Razumovskiy

LD2001163290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Remarks by Abanin, chairman of the Ulyanovsk mechanical works labor collective council, at the 19 January session of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Workers in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Here is a question for Comrade Razumovskiy. Were you aware of the situation in Tyumen, Chernigov, and other towns in this country which led to a lack of confidence in the leading personnel of the oblast committees, or did you merely note them as a fait accompli? Given reliable information, all this could have been predicted and conflict avoided. Timely involvement would only have considerably bolstered the prestige of the Central Committee, but the opposite happened. But you do, after all, have people responsible for each region and oblast. Thus it can be concluded that the Central Committee lacks full and reliable information from the regions, and if it has information it means it is the wrong information. In their visits to enterprises, workers of the central committee and oblast and rayon committees have few meetings with the labor collectives. That does not apply to members of the Politburo. They make an example in this. [passage omitted]

Donbass Miner's Remarks

LD2001094690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1702 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Remarks by Komarov, shaft team leader at the Shakhterskaya Glubokaya Mine in the Donbass, at the 19 January session of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Working Class, Peasantry, and Engineering and Technical Workers in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer Shchelkunova] Next to speak was Comrade Komarov, leader of a team of shaft workers at the Shakhterskaya Glubokaya Mine. He declared on behalf of the workers of the Donbass that the initiatives from the center enjoyed support, and he said at the same time that restructuring should proceed above all in primary organizations. He could not fail, naturally, to deal with the problems of the miners' work and everyday life. Regrettably the issues raised last year by representatives of the coal workers at the meeting with government leaders are, according to him, being tackled only slowly.

[Komarov] Now about schools and kindergartens. When I was in Moscow I saw that after the strike they were showing on television how we live. Our children are fed in cellars. The waiting-list for housing is 3 to 5 years. Our wives sit at home.

[Unidentified speaker, possibly Gorbachev] This has to be clarified, this has to be clarified! [passage omitted]

[Komarov] One more thing, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Please mark this particularly well. We, miners, do not want bloodshed. But they are already beginning to press us a little into this. This is what I'm getting at. Baku, and Georgia, and Azerbaijan are not far from us. A large quantity of weapons is already arriving in our miners' towns. The miners are being urged into this. They are being told: Take up arms—power has to be taken by arms—we shall not take it with words. The working people of the Donbass will not stand for this. [eight second pause]

[Shchelkunova] I'm sorry for the pause there." [passage omitted]

Donbass Mine Closed, Chemical Seepage Kills 3

LD1501230490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 15 January in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 2-minute video report by G. Kondaurov in Gorlovka, Donbass. Kondaurov says: "Due to the total neglect of the installations and criminal negligence of specialists," tens of tonnes of chlorobenzene leaked into the soil from storage tanks and pipelines of the Gorlovka Chemical Works. The liquid penetrated the coal faces of the (Aleksandr-zapad) mine.

"Three miners died, and 145 mine rescue workers who went to their aid suffered severe poisoning. A total of about 300 people in all were treat in hospitals and clinics. The mine had to be closed." The miners are looking for work at other enterprises, since no one as yet

knows where and at what depths chlorobenzene has accumulated. People are afraid it might penetrate water sources.

Video shows the chemical works installations, and injured miners, followed by street scenes, and sidings at the works.

"The chemical works is a closed enterprise; it was long surrounded by a wall of secrecy, and even now numerous commissions have no full picture of the works' violation of ecological regulations. For the time being, government departments are sending letters back and forth. The chemical works continues to operate. Neither local authorities nor commissions from the center have found any solution to the problem, and this delay has aroused indignation on the part of the Gorlovka inhabitants; there are quite a few other enterprises emitting dangerous emissions into the atmosphere and water."

Over video of a demonstration with placards bearing slogans: "No more Chernobyls!", "Citizens of Golovka! Be Sensible! Closing the Chemical Works Means Increasing the Deficit!" Kondaurov says that thousands of inhabitants gathered for a meeting: The League of Workers (russ soyuz rabochikh), labor collectives' councils, the Greens Society and others and the oblast trade union council are all demanding that the works should be redesignated and that other ecologically dangerous enterprises should be reconstructed.

Gorbachev Adviser Proposes 'Refounding' USSR

AU1901143590 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Jan 90 p 2

[APA report: "Gorbachev Adviser In Favor Of Refounding USSR"]

[Text] Vienna—Soviet economic expert Vladimir Kvint has proposed the dissolution of the existing USSR. After that, the individual republics themselves should decide on the "refounding" of the union and on their membership in it, the economic adviser of party-state leader Mikhail Gorbachev said during a visit to Vienna on Thursday [18 January]. In order to serve democracy, Russia should be the last member to join the Soviet Union, just as it did when the Soviet Union was first founded in 1922, Vladimir Kvint said.

PRAVDA Editor Supports One-Party System

AU1701102890 Vienna Television Service in German 2007 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Interview with PRAVDA Chief Editor Ivan Frolov by Raimund Loew—recorded; in Russian with superimposed German translation; place and date not given]

[Text] [Loew] Is it not very embarrassing for the CPSU that for decades its closest fraternal parties were headed by people who have now turned out to be criminals?

[Frolov] Of course, it would have been better if things had not come to that. In our country, the Soviet Union, things are different. In our country the party itself started perestroyka. And in our country we have also uncovered abysses from the eras of Stalin and Brezhnev, which we now call stagnation periods.

We were the first. Why others did not follow us for such a long time is another story. At any rate, they have now paid for it.

[Loew] In the past few months, gigantic changes took place in Eastern Europe. Is the Soviet Union now not in danger of lagging dramatically behind this development?

[Frolov] I know many parties are now introducing the multiparty system. But these are states in which several parties existed in former times: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and also the GDR. This is a development that corresponds to the traditions of these countries. We have our tradition. In our country there has always been one party. Why should one call it lagging behind if we simply do not want to follow foreign traditions?

[Loew] But could this not also be interpreted as the CPSU's fear of a multiparty system because it is afraid of competition?

[Frolov] The question is not topical. We proceed from the realities that have historically developed in our country. This includes the party's role. Fear? No! We are not afraid of anybody. We want to permit different opinions within the party instead of the old Stalinist metastases.

It is often claimed that the party wants to cling to Article Six of the Constitution on the CPSU's leading rule. This is not true. Gorbachev has repeatedly stated this: A constitutional change will be made. We do not connect the party's leading role in any way with any article of the Constitution.

Ligachev Interviewed on Work of Congress

LD1401212190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1415 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Interview with Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, USSR people's deputy and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified interviewer; time and place not given; from the "Youth" program—recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] During the Second Congress of Peoples Deputies of the USSR, I often have the chance to speak to deputies from the All Union Komsomol. They consider that the Congress is proceeding according to the set scenario. Everything is written out and for that reason the congress is (?even to be) considered as one that is bidding farewell to illusions, to illusions of further democratization of the body both of parliament and of the deputies, and of the democratizaiton of the country.

[Ligachev] I think there are no grounds for this. Which is not the same as to say that perhaps the things that were planned by certain people are not being implemented, but how is that connected with the process of democratization, glasnost, or the real participation of all deputies in the work of this Congress? I think the congress has indeed shown, in my opinion, efficiency and good organization, and the main radical questions are being discussed. Just see what diversity there is, how many opinions there are on literally every question, so what grounds are there to say somewhere, something, according to some scenario... [Ligachev changes thought] (?we) approved it ourselves, and we all voted for that scenario, for that order, for those regulations. Work is going normally.

Stroyev Attends Consumer Body's Board Meeting

PM1701153590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Tasks of Cooperative Members"]

[Text] The work of consumer cooperatives stemming from the measures being implemented for the country's economic recovery, the deepening of economic reform, and the preparations for the 13th 5-Year Plan were discussed at a meeting of the Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] Council held in Moscow 12 January.

A report was delivered by Tsentrosoyuz Board Chairman P.S. Fedirko.

Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the Council's work.

Vorotnikov Holds Meetings in Voronezh Oblast

LD1101172190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Meetings have taken place in Voronezh Oblast between electors and Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium. Vorotnikov was in Voronezh Oblast from 8 to 11 January. He visited industrial enterprises, collective and state farms and familiarized himself with the work of party and local Soviet bodies, higher educational establishments, shopping, and public catering facilities. Speaking in labor collectives to party, local Soviet and economic officials, and scientists, Comrade Vorotnikov gave information about the most important events taking place and those about to take place in the life of the country and of the republic.

As is known, the December 1989 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee elected a Russian Bureau of the Central Committee which is called upon to work directly with the party organizations of the krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics of the RSFSR. Conditions have been created for more efficiently resolving the urgent tasks of political and socio-economic development, the introduction of economic reform, and the democratization of state life. The improvement of material and technical supply is planned as well as opening a Russian Academy of Sciences.

The chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stressed that Russia is faced with the task of actively implementing the lofty principles of the CPSU platform on the nationalities issue. Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov noted that the forthcoming elections will be an important stage in the major work to improve the political system and the development of the Russian state system. These will be followed by the first RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies of the which will resolve in legislative form many acute problems facing the republic and will elect a two-chamber RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The local organs of power formed after the elections will also to a large extent look new.

At the meetings there was also discussion on problems of the development of science and higher education, the cooperative movement, the ecological protection of towns, housing construction, the reform of procurement prices for agricultural products, and ways of overcoming difficulties in providing the population with food products and industrial goods.

Party Urged To Win Back People's Trust, Prestige

PM1701131590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Unattributed account of speech by A. Serbentavichyus, first secretary of Sovetskiy Rayon Lithuanian Communist Party Committee, Vilnius City, at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting in Vilnius]

[Text] In view of the fact that very many people wish to speak, I will not read out what I had prepared but will only express some thoughts.

I believe that the processes taking place in Lithuania reflect the unsatisfactory progress of perestroyka and reveal a desire to accelerate it with regard to the conditions in our republic. These are social, economic, and national questions. I would say that we have distributed many promissory notes to the people in the party's name and adopted many programs: The food program, the program on commodity distribution, and so forth. What have these programs actually given us? We do not think about that. They are adopted in the name of the party and the government, and hence the loss of prestige and of trust in the party. This was graphically shown by the elections of USSR people's deputies. I believe that it was necessary to hold the 28th CPSU Congress right after the elections of people's deputies and to analyze the reasons for the defeat of the party structure. I also believe that it is necessary to prepare without delay for the 28th congress and to hold it so as to begin perestroyka in the party. By altering Article 6 of the Constitution it is necessary to create new conditions in the political

struggle for power, so that the people will believe in and follow the Communist Party. The program, like all party life, must accord to the maximum degree with the people's wishes and aspirations. The CPSU began perestroyka, and we exploit this phrase quite intensively, but our party has, at best, remained at the initial stage of perestroyka. Little has changed in the party during the 18 months since the 19th party conference, but many communists, many people sitting here sincerely made proposals as to how to implement perestroyka in the party. So, what is the guarantee that the perestroyka processes are irreversible, apart from Mikhail Sergeyevich and those of like mind? The constitution of the stagnation times? A party not following perestroyka? We could cite the examples of the 1939 Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. Do you know how that ended? You also remember 1964, when our economic independence was completed. Therefore, naturally, a wave of dissatisfaction with affairs in the party swept through the grass-roots components of our party structure—which caused the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to be convened.

I would like to say that people here try in vain to prove that the 20th congress was imposed from above, that someone instigated its convocation. For almost one-third of the communists wished to convene the congress from below, and it would have convened itself if they had not convened it in an organized manner.

You know perfectly well that primary components of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party have been created and that party organizations have already been organized along territorial formation lines. Therefore, I believe that the congress was timely, and its decisions are gaining more and more supporters.

There is no alternative to an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. The future belongs to an alliance of independent communist parties with their own statutes and programs, just as the future belongs to an alliance of republics as sovereign states.

Now about the claim that we want to break off ties, both political and economic. I wish to state my opinion that attempts to portray us as enemies of perestroyka only play into the hands of conservative forces.

The speaker read out a question: "Say from the rostrum why you were so keen to force the creation of independent Lithuanian Communist Party organizations."

What do you mean by force? We created them ourselves, he continued, and no one forced them. Where primary organizations do not support the decisions of the 20th congress, no one forces them; organizations are creating themselves. People are being misled here.

Tyumen Oblast Faces Leadership Crisis

First Secretary 'Retires'

LD1701191290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1649 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] tyumen, 17 Jan (TASS)—Today members of the Tyumen Oblast Party Committee Bureau filed an application to release their party authorities. Some time earlier Gennadiy Bogomyakov, first secretary of that CPSU oblast committee, put in an application with a request to be relieved of his duties, which he administered for 15 years.

Bogomyakov gave his wish to retire on pension as the reason to lay down his powers. The true cause, however, lies in the acute aggravation of social problems in this western Siberian oblast that was renowned for many years for its achievements in tapping oil and gas deposits. In the euphoria of victories in opening natural resources creating necessary conditions for peoples' life and work here has been forgotten. Settlements and towns without proper amenities, lack of roads, temporary dwellings and poor provisions of goods have become the destiny of the 'conquerors of the north." Besides, neither oil-workers, nor gas-workers, builders, or geologists know clear prospects for the future. There is no strategy of this region's development.

In the course of an active discussion of the problems a sharp criticism directed at those, who didn't show either ability or determination to resolve them, was heard. People want a change of the "team." The elections of a leader of the oblast party organization will be held tomorrow. A total of nineteen people: Soviet and party workers, economic managers, and people of different occupations, ages and life experiences among them, were named as candidates for the vacant chair.

Letter Prompts 'Crisis'

LD1401223590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From the "Seven Days" program]

[Text] And now for the report from Tyumen. I shall read it in full. It is difficult to use any one word to describe what has been going on in recent days in the Tyumen party organization, although the description of crisis is figuring more and more frequently on the pages of local papers and in radio and television broadcasts, and in the discussions and arguments which rage at meetings of communists, at plenums and in aktiv meetings.

And what prompted this was a letter from a member of the oblast committee, the chief of its ideological department (Mikhail Mitrofanovich Mitakov) who directly and openly rejected confidence in, and the right to leadership of, Gennadiy Pavlovich Bogomyakov, first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee. Gennadiy Pavlovich Bogomyakov has been heading the Tyumen Oblast party organization for 17 years, or, more accurately, headed it

because after the publication of (Mitakov's) letter, which took place on the decision of the oblast committee bureau, Gennadiy Pavlovich Bogomyakov, who is on vacation, requested to be released from his duties as first secretary of the oblast committee of the party in connection with his retirement and this request was met.

In Tyumen on 18 January there will be a plenum of the oblast committee of the party at which cadre issues will be considered, since the office of the second secretary is also vacant. At present, possible candidatures are being studied and are being put forward everywhere.

But the matter does not rest here. Thus, a joint plenum of the Tyumen city and rayon committees in effect expressed no confidence in the whole oblast committee of the party and posed the question of convening an extraordinary oblast party conference. You will learn in "Vremya" and "Seven Days" programs how events in the Tyumen oblast party organization develop.

Candidates Selected

PM1901153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Orlov report: "Bureau Resigns"]

[Text] Tyumen, 18 Jan—A Tyumen CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] plenum began its work today. In addition to obkom members it was attended by city and rayon party committee [gorkom and raykom] secretaries, secretaries of primary party organizations, leaders of enterprises and organizations, and USSR people's deputies.

An organizational question was examined. In connection with his retirement on pension, the plenum relieved G. Bogomyakov of his duties as first secretary, bureau member, and CPSU obkom member.

The plenum also met obkom bureau members' and candidate members' request to resign.

Several people are aspiring to the post of obkom first secretary. That is why the plenum's participants decided to interrupt their work and enable Communists from primary party organizations to discuss the proposed candidacies and their programs, and submit proposals to the plenum's second sitting, which will be held 26 January. It has been decided to elect the first secretary and members of the CPSU obkom bureau on that day. Obkom candidate members, members of the obkom auditing commission, gorkom and raykom first secretaries who are not members of the plenum, along with delegates from primary organizations elected by rayon and city organizations according to the norm set by the plenum—1 delegate per 1,000 CPSU members—will have the right to a deciding vote.

New Leadership Elected

LD2001041690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Jan 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Prutkin]

[Summary] Tyumen, 19 Jan (TASS)—A plenum of the Tyumen Oblast Committee of the CPSU has elected a temporary Bureau of the Oblast Committee. Viktor Kitayev was confirmed as its chairman by the plenum. The plenum complied with the request of Gennadiy Bogomyakov, the previous first secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee, that he be released from his post in connection with his retirement. Immediately afterwards, the Bureau confirmed the resignation of the whole membership of the Bureau of the Oblast Committee.

The plenum has decided to hold an extraordinary report-back and election party conference in April, at which the oblast's communists will elect a new Bureau.

Those participating in the plenum adopted an appeal to the CPSU Central Committee and to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in which the necessity was stated for urgent measures to correct the situation that has taken shape.

Mufti of Kazakhstan Appeals for 'Reason'

PM2201192890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

["Appeal" to Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples from Muslims of Kazakhstan]

[Text] We Muslims of Kazakhstan appeal to the two fraternal peoples—the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples—for reason and restraint. And for tolerance, as it says in the Holy Koran. It is time to stop this disgraceful bloodshed.

[Signed] Nysanbay uly Ratbek, mufti of the Muslims of Kazakhstan.

Kazakh CP Official on Pre-election Program

90US0344A Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with V.G. Anufriyev, second secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, by unnamed correspondent; date, place not specified: "Action Program"]

[Text] The period we are going through is marked by many radical changes in socio-political life. The new political phenomenon of the, so to speak, informal participation by the party in preparing and holding elections to the organs of people's power will not go unnoticed in the history of our country. This phenomenon is vibrant testimony to the unavoidable dismantling of the command-administrative system, of obsolete dogmas and concepts of the role of the party in a socialist society.

Having acted as the initiator and guarantor of perestroyka, the party itself is restructuring the forms and methods of its work. The party does not merely discuss difficulties openly; it also proposes bold solutions and constructive approaches toward accomplishing complex socio-economic tasks, rallies all social forces, and sets an example in the great cause of renewal of socialism.

The political platform of the Central Committee on the elections of people's deputies of the KaSSR [Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic] and of local soviets of people's deputies has become one of the manifestations of an unconventional approach by the Central Committee of the CPKa [Communist Party of Kazakhstan] to developing avenues for enhancing political and economic reforms and renewing the social and spiritual spheres of life.

This document provides answers to many questions which our time has raised, shows the means to solve fundamental problems, and provides firm guarantees of the persistent implementation of an active social policy which focuses on the person.

[Correspondent] Judging by our mail, many people are interested in knowing the principles of how this document was developed, the degree to which the potential of "collective wisdom" was tapped in it, and whether it was born in the offices of the party apparatus, as was the case before. Was a sketchy description of the reality of life a danger?

[Anufriyev] The very nature of the platform gave us no right to narrow-mindedness, to providing mandatory guidelines. All commissions of the CPKa Central Committee and members of the Central Committee, which includes representatives of all social and ethnic groups, took part in developing the draft of this document which was submitted to the party organizations, labor collectives, communists, and toilers of the republic for discussion. Scientists and specialists were enlisted, as well as, of course, party functionaries who know the issues of their regions better than anyone else. As far as "collective wisdom" is concerned, it was working full tilt at the time the draft was discussed. A great many people, including non-party members, voiced most varied views and remarks and made specific proposals. Did we fully take into account each and every one of them? Perhaps, this was not the task we were faced with. Still, the political platform of the party is a document which defines conceptually priority directions for our work and provides a concentrated reflection of the tasks which the party undertakes to accomplish by participating in the organs of people's power and implementing in practice the slogan, "All power to the soviets!"

In this reference, I would like to recall that we are approaching such landmarks as the 28th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPKa Congress. This is why our program goals should be as balanced and verified by the theory and practice of perestroyka as ever, and should contain a tremendous invigorating charge, life-giving consolidating power.

Therefore, in this case we should refer to taking into account as completely as possible the trends of social development rather than sketchiness. As far as specific points of the platform are concerned, its every thesis is going to be elucidated in the programs of socio-economic and cultural development of the republic and all of its regions, both those in effect and under development, and will be implemented in the action plans of party organizations at all levels.

[Correspondent] You have referred to the priorities incorporated in the pre-election platform. Many of our readers note its, so to say, "humanization," an effort to take into account the everyday concerns of people. Incidentally, this segment of the program is the most specific one. Which arrangements will be made operational in the course of attaining the goals set?

[Anufriyev] Let us take, for example, the housing program. The residents of Kazakhstan are well aware of what we are trying to do in this area. I may only stress that the pace of housing construction in our republic is the highest in the country. How we are going to maintain it at this level and even boost it is another matter. Our reserves are found in creating new capacities at local construction industry enterprises and increasing the output of construction materials rapidly. To this end, a network of housing construction combines is being expanded; the construction of plants producing linoleum, bathtubs, and glazed-earthenware plumbing and construction fixtures is under way. Small enterprises producing bricks and other materials are being set up in rural areas using the resources of farms. At present, almost every enterprise, office, and organization is taking part in housing construction. Many houses are built by individual citizens. Since the beginning of the five-year plan, the volume of individual construction has increased by a factor of more than two and has attained 1.2 million square meters a year. In the future, it will become a priority, and together with housing-cooperative construction will account for no less than 30 percent of the overall volume.

Here is another burning issue—the supply of necessities for the populace. Let us say unequivocally that an aggravated situation in the consumer market calls for a search for unconventional approaches to solving this problem. The setting-up of factory shops and branch plants due to construct 115 modular assembled structures has become such an approach. Their commissioning will make it possible to boost capacity by R150 million. This work will be carried on.

In the forthcoming five-year plan, R908 million in state investment will be allocated for new construction, reconstruction, and technical retooling of 38 light industry enterprises.

Much work is being done in the sphere of creating specialized capacity at heavy industry enterprises as well, at which the production of small-size washing machines, centrifuges, milk separators, bicycles, refrigerators, trailers and spare parts for passenger cars, and construction materials has been mastered. Work on converting defense enterprises has begun.

The republic's industrial complex has been vigorously developing foreign economic contacts with socialist countries and companies from capitalist countries. Thus, contracts for the delivery and assembly of imported equipment for 17 enterprises in the course of 1989-1990 have been signed. Expenditures for this purpose will come to more than R45 million. For example, the Dzerzhinskiy Alma-Ata Knitted Goods Association will ensure incremental production in the amount of R50 million due to the deliveries of equipment by the Union-Matex company (FRG). Deliveries to the Uralsk Garments Factory by the Jukki company (Japan) will result in an increment of R35 million in the delivery of goods; deliveries to the Dzhambul Tanning Association by the Italian company Akropeli will yield R30 million. The overall volume of production of clothing and footwear will increase by R350 million due to these measures.

Joint enterprises are being set up. The Alma-Ata Fur Combine is setting up a facility for manufacturing sheepskin products together with the French company Refal. The Kustanay Textile and Garment Association and the Chinese 1 August Wool Combine in the city of Shehuoji are setting up the production of woolen fabrics with export sales in the world market; the joint "Ak-Bulak" facility for thermos production has been established by the Kzyl-Tu Association on the basis of Chinese technology. The thermoses are already available for sale.

Extremely demanding goals have been set for the agroindustrial sector. The tasks in this sphere are twofold. On the one hand, the market must be saturated with foodstuffs. However, it is also evident that this cannot be ensured on the basis of conventional methods of agricultural operations only. Equal conditions should be ensured for the development of all forms of property, including leasing. At present, 840 sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes [collective farms], or one in three, use leasing in all production subdivisions. Leasing collectives, family and individual lessees use 84 percent of the land and manage two-thirds of the cattle and sheep and over 70 percent of the hogs. Final results are invariably substantial where this form of economic relations is used correctly.

While developing social forms of economic operations, it is necessary to boost production in the individual sector. For example, the creation of peasant farms and cooperatives has become a new phenomenon in our republic. Incidentally, there already are more than 1,000 of them.

We see that shifts occur in all spheres due to improvements in the entire system of agroindustrial integration. Thus, the volume of agricultural gross product grew by 17 percent compared to the 11th Five-Year Plan and came to R16.5 billion. It would have been impossible to ensure this formidable increment with the resources of sovkhozes and kolkhozes alone. Suffice it to say that meat production on auxiliary plots in rural areas increased 2.5-fold, and that of milk by more than one-half. At present, this sector turns out products worth R4 billion which accounts for one-quarter of the overall-volume in the republic. The number of rural families keeping cattle and poultry increased. In the last three years, the areas used for collective fruit and vegetable gardening increased by 23,000 hectares. All restrictions in this matter have been rescinded.

We are aware that proceeding toward the future is impossible without a carefully verified action program. The main directions of development of the agroindustrial complex in our republic have now been reflected in a corresponding concept which is being studied by scientists, specialists, and practitioners. It will become a working document after it is corrected.

Briefly about the social reconstruction of rural areas. Problems have accumulated for many years over there, and they have been resolved at an unacceptably slow pace. Large distances to cultural centers, lack of roads, poor amenities in everyday life, and strenuous manual labor are a negative influence on labor activities; they cause justified complaints by workers of the sovkhozes and by kolkhoz members.

A special program which provides for spending almost R10 billion has been worked out in our republic in order to ameliorate this situation. No less than 10 million square meters of housing will be built during the five-year plan. Zones supplied with electricity and gas will expand; road construction will be enhanced. Additional facilities are envisaged in the sphere of commercial, cultural, and medical services.

In a word, the CPKa Central Committee monitors persistently all socio-economic problems and gets rayon, city, and oblast party committees involved in their implementation as soon as possible, assigning the leading role in this work to the initiative of primary party organizations.

[Correspondent] Vladislav Grigoryevich, the Central Committee platform sets truly enormous tasks, shows ways to solve them, and maps out specific goals the attainment of which will definitely serve to improve the welfare of the citizens of Kazakhstan. However, don't you think that this is rather a sphere of economic activities? How does this figure in with the policy of dropping from party work the functions not characteristic of it?

[Anufriyev] I see no contradiction here. First, the process of separating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs is picking up steam. There is much proof of that. For example, the Central Committee of the Communist Party gave up making decisions on practical issues of economic operations having handed over such

work to the government of the republic. Second, the party organs of the republic do not renounce their responsibility for working out the strategic avenues of socio-economic and cultural policy. The party cannot be a detached observer because it has started perestroyka and has assumed complete responsibility for its results. Besides, it is undeniable that powerful intellectual potential is amassed in the party which is capable of finding ways, means, and methods for solving problems of any complexity. I mean the fact that most prominent scientists and specialists, organizers of production, and cultural figures belong to the party. The main point is that the advanced forces of the working class and peasantry form the backbone of the party. It is also beyond a doubt that the policy of the party is meeting with a positive response from the broadest strata of the populace. Therefore, removing the hand of the party from the pulse of life is out of the question.

At the same time, the very essence of party work is changing profoundly. Justifying the decisions made scientifically and ruling out arbitrary intervention in any of the spheres of practical activity is the basis for this work. You have asked about the correspondence between enormous economic tasks and the work of party organs. We know firmly how to ensure that the goals set are attained—first of all, through the mobilizing organizational and indoctrination work with the masses, the skill with which communists implement party policy by convincing people and taking into account profoundly and continuously the interests of all social groups and ethnic peculiarities of the populace. In the course of this, we hold the communists, and primarily communist leaders, increasingly responsible for the sector of work entrusted to them, for compliance with the statutory norms, for observing the code of party honor. In this instance, I am enumerating things which form the foundation for the political methods of leadership.

This fully applies to the sphere of interaction between the party and the soviets. The party's policy will be carried out through the communists working there rather than by "I-say-so." This is why we attach great importance to the formation of the party corps of deputies.

I should stress in particular that I mean first of all communists who are the best representatives of labor collectives and the intelligentsia, true adherents of perestroyka prepared to work constructively in the organs of people's power, rather than party functionaries. We are already mounting an extensive campaign effort on behalf of our people in the course of preparing for elections to the local soviets; we discuss their production and creative achievements, business traits, and personal merits. In the future, the party committees should also facilitate the nomination to the soviets of bright people who are skilled in socio-political activities, who command trust and enjoy the support of the voters. In a word, people with a new pattern of thinking should be supported rather than those who have inordinate political ambitions and self-seeking aspirations and make demagogic declarations and hollow promises.

Ultimately, the say in the election of deputies belongs to the people. Both the local soviets and the Supreme Soviet of the republic will be formed by the will of the people and will act on the basis of their own functions. The accomplishment of the significant tasks which the republic is facing will depend on the competency, convictions, and persistence of the deputies.

This is how we see the role of the party in cooperating with the soviets on the eve of the elections—as an organizing but by no means directing role.

Mutual relations between the party organs of the republic and the trade unions, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League], and other public organizations proceed from the principles of partnership and support by all possible means. This position is clearly set forth in the Central Committee platform. By way of adding to it, I will only say that the party committees are rendering, and will render in the future, comprehensive help to these organizations, draw them into vigorous participation in the election campaign so that their best representatives can work in the soviets worthily.

[Correspondent] We cannot but acknowledge that the abrupt politization of the consciousness of people, their interest in the success of perestroyka, the increase in civil initiative have played a tremendous role in bringing about the new status of both economic and socio-political life in the republic. Even if we sketch these main positions—the concepts of regional economic accountability, processes in interethnic relations, ecological problems, aspects of moral and spiritual renaissance—it will become clear that at present the work of party organizations calls for taking these phenomena into account comprehensively, responding to them flexibly, and controlling the situation. Certainly, the skill of rallying all social strata for constructive work is also required. I would like to know what you think about this aspect of work by party organs.

[Anufriyev] Of course, the consolidating role remains the main role for us. Party organizations cannot yield to emotions in this, frankly speaking, complex situation or, worse yet, get carried away by lofty phrases. Constructive actions, great responsibility for every step taken, taking the interests of all social and ethnic strata of the populace into account—these are, perhaps, our main principles. It has been from these very positions that we approached the development of the concept of transition by our republic to the principles of economic sovereignty, self-financing, and self-capitalization, adoption of the laws on language, and other important decisions involving the reinforcement of legal order, organization, and discipline, environmental protection, and so forth. The CPKa Central Committee has come out unambiguously against attempts to split the brotherly family of peoples of our country and has been persistently pursuing the policy of defending Soviet socialist federalism. We see that all of these actions enjoy the support and appreciation by the broadest circles of the public. A

stable situation in Kazakhstan and the high labor and political activity of the citizens of Kazakhstan testify to this. You would agree that this confirms the correctness of the approaches we have set forth.

At the same time, we have more than enough problems on which we have to work hard. I will name two of them which are closely related—health care and the ecological situation.

In terms of the general political position, we are in favor of all issues associated with locating enterprises reporting to the union in the territory of the republic and the conduct of all work endangering nature and people, be it tests of machinery or explosions at testing grounds, being placed within the jurisdiction of the republic and its Supreme Soviet.

At the same time, we cannot ignore our internal problems which are significant from the point of view of both ecology and health care. These are the discharge of industrial waste waters into rivers and small bodies of water, the pollution of subsurface water, and land reclamation. A high level of atmospheric pollution continues to exist in major industrial centers of the republic such as Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Balkhash, Dzhambul, Temirtau, Chimkent, and Ust-Kamenogorsk. All of these issues call for a comprehensive solution, allocations of considerable funds, and corresponding research potential. This work is being done. Thus, according to the data of the republic State Committee for Statistics, the discharge of harmful substances into the atmosphere declined in nine months of this year by 2.4 percent compared to the same period of last year. However, we understand clearly that these rates are still low. This is why the government of the republic enacted, effective 1 October of this year, regulations on payments for above-the-norm discharges of pollutants into the environment without waiting for the USSR Law on Environmental Protection to be adopted. Ecological reviews of all enterprises to be built or reconstructed without exceptions have been introduced. We attach great hopes to the State Committee for Environmental Protection created in the republic and the program of environmental protection in the republic developed for the next five-year plan. As far as nuclear tests at the site in the area of Semipalatinsk are concerned, the position of the CPKa Central Committee on this issue is clearly stated in the political platform. We are resolutely in favor of discontinuing them completely, and we have been persistently trying to ensure that union organs adopt a special resolution on this issue. At present, a union commission which includes representatives of the party and soviet organs of the republic is conducting relevant work on our demand. We also support the social movement "Nevada-Semipalatinsk," as well as the movements advocating solutions to the problems of the Sea of Aral and Lake Balkhash and the territories adjacent to them. We virtually do not have differences on these issues.

I will be brief in matters involving informal movements: The party organs evaluate all of their actions exactly from the point of view of the constructive nature and realism of their plans. The party organs do not just make an evaluation but also provide all possible support and enlarge the sphere of influence on the processes of socio-political life by those of them who hold a constructive position.

I cannot fail to touch on the important issue of moral well-being of the people. At present, we pay a lot of attention to this aspect. The spiritual formation of a person should begin in his family. Healthy families produce healthy children. However, is everything favorable in this sphere? The number of divorces is growing; an increasing number of children are in orphanages. How is this to be stopped? Continuous and comprehensive moral upbringing of the people is necessary. At present, a republic program of moral and esthetic upbringing of the younger generation is being implemented in the republic. The introduction of a new structure of education is envisaged in which humanities and esthetic subjects are to be made a priority. New textbooks and teaching aids are being developed. Unlike our previous practice, moral and esthetic education will begin in day care centers, at the age of 3 to 4, and will continue in school, vocational technical school, or college. Participation in the world, national, and, of course, ethnic culture, folk art, and traditions by the children will be particularly emphasized.

This work calls for a joint effort by all public organizations, all healthy forces of society. Perhaps, you have noticed that meetings with leaders of various religious associations were held at the CPKa Central Committee and a number of other party committees. Despite fundamental differences in our ideologies, we give them due credit for their work on developing moral and ethical norms for the believers and charitable activities.

In summation, I would like to say that the election campaign has now become the main endeavor of the CPKa Central Committee, party committees, and all elements of the republic party organization. At present, the attention of the citizens of Kazakhstan is focused on the pre-election struggle for the local soviets of people's deputies. An extremely significant stage—elections of the republic people's deputies—is in store for us. Proceeding from the political platform of the Central Committee, the communists strive to proceed steadfastly along the path of perestroyka expressing their collective will through a revolutionary renewal of our society, reinforcing the authority of the party, and facilitating the nomination of genuine leaders, of those who are pillars of our socialist state, to the soviets.

Undoubtedly, the ideas incorporated in the pre-election platform of the party will subsequently be developed further, all the more so because at present our economic, social, and spiritual life is subject to dynamic changes as never before. In the course of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPKa Congress, the party organizations will enrich themselves with new experience and will outline more effective approaches to

solving particular problems. One point is beyond doubt: The policy of perestroyka has been and will remain the mainstay of all our work; it is aimed at materializing the advantages of socialism, improving the life of the people, and creating favorable conditions for the versatile development of the economy, social sphere, culture, and a bright manifestation of the ethnic originality of the republic.

Kazakhstan Oblast Soviets Elect Officials

LD1401192890 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The first sessions of newly elected oblast soviets of people's deputies have been held in Aktyubinsk, Dzhezkazgan, Karaganda, Pavlodar, Taldy-Kurgan, and Tselinograd, which examined an organizational matter.

Zolotaryev was elected as chairman of the Aktyubinsk Oblast Soviet; Nurdzhanov as deputy chairman; Sagintayev was elected as chairman of the oblast executive committee [oblispolkom]; (Duvulya) and (Kimchuk) as first deputy chairmen; (Drovzhin), (Yelemanova), and (Tampayev) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session at Dzhezkazgan elected Yezhikov-Babakhanov as chairman of the oblast soviet; Dusebekov as deputy chairman; Shardarbekov was elected as chairman of the oblispolkom; (Rogov) and (Kunf), as first deputy chairman; (Chokan), (Semitov), (Rakishov), and (Tukarvokova) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session at Karaganda elected Bashmakov as chairman of the oblast soviet and Dzhakupbek as deputy chairman; Togaybayev was elected as chairman of the oblispolkom, Topaliv, Tsilgilrat as first deputy chairman; Isayev, Kulmaganbetov, Omarbekova were approved as chairmen and chairwoman.

Meshcheryakov was elected as chairman of the Pavlodar Oblast Soviet; Dzhazin as deputy chairman; iskakov was elected as chairman of the Pavlodar Oblispolkom; Azarov and Kuldzhanov as first deputy chairmen; (Grasimyanko), (Pagornikov), and (Shirtmingulova) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session at Taldy-Kurgan elected Zhigulin as chairman of the oblast soviet and Otepbergenov as deputy chairman; Tursunov was elected as chairman of the oblispolkom; (Votiv) and (Tipanishkiv) as first deputy chairmen; Dzhazilbekova, Manchenka, Sargalin were approved as deputy chairman.

Braun was elected as chairman of the Tselinograd Oblast Soviet: Karbeyev was elected as chairman of the oblispolkom; (Kulagin) and (Maktinnov) as first deputy chairmen; (Baygolov), (Nitkin), and (Akitiyenka) were approved as deputy chairmen.

Muslim Spiritual Administration Set Up in Kazakhstan

LD1401045990 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The first congress of Kazakhstan Muslims was held in Alma-Ata today. More than 250 delegates, as well as guests from other republics, were gathered there. A report of Kazakhstan Muslims Kaziya [Kazakhstan Muslims board] was heard. It was delivered by Kazi [Mulsim leader] Ratbek Nysanbay-ogly.

It was stressed that 15 new mosques opened last year in the republic and the old mosque premises are being handed over. At present, the total number of mosques is 63. As a result of restructuring and the process of democratization new opportunities have opened up for believers. Further confirmation of this is the admission of religious people to party and soviet bodies, which has taken place in everywhere. There are, indeed, religious people in the local government bodies, and they have been nominated for the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet. An overwhelming number of Muslims have fully supported the internal and external policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and they are taking part in peace work and helping the state and public organizations with their charitable and philanthropic work.

At the congress, the issue of establishing a Spiritual Administration of the republic's Muslims was examined. Ratbek Nysanbay-ogly was elected mufti of the Kazakhstan Muslims. The Presidium of the Spiritual Administration also was elected.

Turkmen Supreme Soviet Starts Work 20 Jan

LD2001154990 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] Ashkhabad January 20 TASS—Ten permanent committees of Turkmenia's Supreme Soviet started work today. They were formed at the first session of the recently elected supreme body of state power of this Soviet Central Asian republic in order to draft legislation, to control the activity of state bodies and organisations, and to consider candidates for high state posts.

Members of the Parliament elected Turkmenian party chief Saparmurad Niyazov, 49, chairman of the Turkmenian Supreme Soviet. Khan Akhmedov, 53, who has held this post since the end of last year, was elected to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Niyazov Elected Chairman

LD1901225190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] In Ashkhabad today, the first session of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet continued proceedings. Yesterday, on the first day of its work, decisions were made on procedural matters, and a new chairman of the

Turkmen Supreme Soviet was elected by secret ballot. The new chairman is now Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. [video shows meeting in progress]

[Correspondent] The number of people's deputies seats after the elections held on 7 January has fallen from 330 down to 169, and 526 fought for these seats. [passage omitted]

The number of communists and candidate members of the CPSU has increased by more than 20% in the new body of deputies. The program for improving the economy, and the political and moral climate put forward by the republican party organization has received broad support of the population, especially the section touching on the sphere of interethnic relations. Thus, two state languages, the Turkmen and Russian languages, are now to be used in the republic. [passage omitted]

Speaking about his program and touching on the subject of interethnic relations, Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, who was elected yesterday chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet, said among other things:

[Begin Niyazov recording] Today we people's deputies must give our word to our population never to allow interethnic hostilities to occur in this republic. No force whatever that would try to use language or territorial motives can cast a shadow today upon the friendship of our peoples. [video shows Niyazov at meeting] [end recording]

Results of Turkmen Local Soviet Elections

LD1701154890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] The results of the elections of people's deputies of the Turkmen SSR and of the republic's local soviets became known today. After repeat balloting, which took place on 14 January, the names of 169 people's deputies of the Turkmen SSR have been issued. A further six deputies' places remain vacant for the time being, until repeat elections planned for 25 February.

The elections confirmed that the electors support the efforts of the republican party organization aimed at the consolidation of working people, deepening the process of renewal, the extension of the social basis of restructuring, and the involvement in it of all strata of the population. Almost 90 percent of deputies are members of the CPSU.

All the secretaries of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party have become people's deputies of the Turkmen SSR, and almost every fourth deputy is a party worker. Many of them have also been elected to local soviets.

The new electoral laws, based on wide choice in the nomination of candidates to the democratic bodies, made for intense competition in the struggle for a deputy's mandate. Only in one constituency did a single candidate stand as a people's deputy of the Turkmen SSR. In others, 3, 4, and even 10 candidates fought for the right to represent the interests of their electors in the Supreme Soviet of the republic. The struggle for the right to take part in the work of local soviets—of which more than 13,500 people became deputies—was equally intense.

The first session of the newly-constituted Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR will open on 18 January.

Tajik 'Municipal Militia' Starts Crime Patrols

PM1601094390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Municipal Militia Formed"]

[Text] Kolkhozabad (Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic), 11 Jan—From today, a municipal militia here has assumed the functions of a patrol and guard service. This new law enforcement organization was initiated and is being funded by the population, a number of large industrial organizations and agricultural units, and the executive committees of the region's village soviets.

In the opinion of many people living in the oblast, the municipal militia's effectiveness lies its independence of departmental diktat. Nominations for militia personnel were approved at village meetings and meetings of labor collectives. Priority was given to former internationalist servicemen, those transferred to the reserve from Internal Affairs Ministry and Airborne Troops forces, and people with strong moral qualities and sound physical training.

Under the approved statute, the new service's tasks will include ensuring citizens' safety at night, which, as criminal practice has shown, is the most "crime-ridden" time. A great deal of attention will be paid to preventing crime, particularly among young people. In this connection, a chart showing the region's "hottest" spots has been drawn up, and people with no specific employment and those who are inclined to come into conflict with the law are being monitored.

PRAVDA Account of Usmanov Trip to Tatar ASSR

PM1601144790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meetings in Tataria"]

[Text] The meetings between USSR People's Deputy G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and voters in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] and the republic's working people and Communists were held in an atmosphere of openness and frank dialogue on the progress of perestroyka in the country, on the results of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and on the preparations for the 28th party congress.

He visited collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], and agricultural raw material processing enterprises and familiarized himself with the work of cultural and health establishments in the countryside. In discussions with country people and farm leaders particular attention was devoted to questions of the social restructuring of the countryside, the assimilation of progressive new forms of economic management on the land, and the improvement of working people's working and leisure conditions.

At the party oblast committee [obkom] the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee met with members of the CPSU Obkom Bureau and leaders of the autonomous republic's ministries and departments. A wide range of questions of the Tatar ASSR's development and the perestroyka of its party organization's activity were discussed. It was noted that there is a businesslike atmosphere in the republic, that people have confidence in the success of the transformations that have begun and are striving to overcome any difficulties that emerge. At the same time, it was noted that the republic's mighty socioeconomic potential is not yet fully utilized and that it is necessary to accelerate the reorientation of a number of enterprises to produce consumer goods and to provide equipment for kolkhozes and sovkhozes. These tasks will have to be resolved under new conditions associated with the republic's transition as of January 1990 to the principles of regional economic accountability.

Moscow TV Introduces New News Program

LD1211231189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Nov 89

[From the "Seven Days" program introduced by Eduard Sagalayev, chief editor of Central Television information program]

[Text] [Sagalayev] Good evening! We are starting a new television program entitled Seven Days, the Sunday edition of the Vremya program. The contents are mainly the week's events—facts, commentaries, television bridges, and information reports. You may count upon our objectivity and frankness. We want you to have confidence in us, to be able to rely upon us. We understand how much falsehood, rumors, inaccurate and even dishonest information there is around. We shall attempt to make use of all our technical opportunities and shall exert every effort to give you details of events in the country and in the world, and to tell you about various aspects of human life. We proceed from the fact that our television viewers have the right to know the real state of affairs and to make their own conscious choice. We shall not impose our opinion, nor shall we be hiding our own position. It should be clear from the very start: We are for restructuring, for the sort of restructuring that brings people peace, good fortune, freedom, culture, and justice.

With that, I shall conclude the brief manifesto of the Seven Days program. I may, I think, for once say a few words about myself. I am Eduard Sagalayev, chief editor of Central Television information program. I am 43 years old; I am a member of the party and have a wife and two children. My son is doing his army service, and my daughter is in the 10th grade. I am presenting this program for them, too.

New Supreme Soviet Magazine Published

LD2101123490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 21 Jan 90

[Text] Readers in our country are receiving the first edition of NARODNYY DEPUTAT [PEOPLE'S DEPUTY], the sociopolitical and problem-and-news magazine of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The new publication has gone into circulation with a message of greeting from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He offered the magazine wishes of creative success and fruitful work in the interests of developing Soviet democracy and of creating a socialist, law-governed state. The magazine touches, inter alia, upon a number of acute issues—the opportunities which were missed to avert the summer strike of the Kuzbass miners, the consequences of the recall of one deputy, and the order of holding demonstrations, marches, and meetings.

Journal Publishes Koran Russian Translation

PM1801100190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent A. Karpov: "Koran Is Being Printed"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The Russian-language literary and arts journal PAMIR—the organ of the Tajikistan Writers Union—is beginning publication of the Muslim holy writs this year.

The Koran, which for 13 centuries now has been a very important part of Islamic culture, has so far been virtually inaccessible to the Russian-speaking reader in our country. Yet in Russian literature of various times considerable interest in the Muslim's holy book can be traced. Many poets have turned to it in their creation and Chernyshevskiy studied the Koran as a model of the orator's art.

In Soviet times there has been just one translation into Russian. The few editions were produced in a meager number of copies and were intended only for a narrow circle of specialists—historians, philosophers, and atheists.

"The changes taking place in society have also affected the official attitude toward religion," the writer M. Mullodzhanov, chief editor of PAMIR, says. "A recognition of the fact that Man's history developed through various beliefs whose ideas have had enormous influence on the lives and world outlook of people of various eras has also made accessible the basic principles of religions in their prime sources. The gospel and Ecclesiastes have already been published in the periodical press in recent

years. Our journal is thus continuing an important matter that has been initiated."

Attempt To Sell Tanks Abroad Foiled

LD2101014790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 90

[A. Melkopyan video report from Novorossiysk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, we have become accustomed to the fact that we sell everything we can, and everything we cannot, abroad. However, I think that you will be hearing this for the first time. The State Cooperative Association ANT has attempted to sell a column of tanks abroad. Our correspondent from Novorossiysk reports.

[Begin recording] [A. Melkopyan] The twelve T-72's manufactured in 1989, with a full set of equipment—cannons, machine guns, and much else that is contained in these railcars—realy are a terrible force in skillful hands, without a doubt. But who, then, was this force intended for? For whose hands was it destined? These and a number of other questions are worrying many people today. Just one thing is clear. A certain cooperative, ANT, set up in attachment to the Vzlet scientific production association, became the temporary owner of the tanks.

Vladimir Petrovich, you are head of the investigative group, and I would like to hear your version of how one cooperative could pull off such a business.

[V.P. Nagornyy, senior aid to the procurator of Krasnodar Kray] Well, we opened a case on the initial version, which in fact lead us to suspect a crime. That is, the version that an official crime could have taken place here. We are assuming that if the members of the ANT cooperative are caught up in this business, that is the superficial layer, as it were. They are the forwarding agents, so to speak. There are clearly officials standing behind them who handed them this combat hardware which was supposed to be sent to a foreign state. We were put on our guard here by the fact that it was dispatched not as combat weaponry but as scrap metal, say. The dispatch documents, after all, say railway furnace, non-dismantled cargo. In other words, the title of goods is not given.

The case is assuming an interoblast nature, since investigative operations will have to be conducted in Moscow, in Sverdlovsk Oblast, in Nizhniy Tagil itself. [video shows flat railcars carrying canvas-covered tanks, and a boxcar] [end recording]

Russian Agriculture Official Gets Minister Status

PM1801100590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Anatoliy Petrovich Ustyuzhanin, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, a minister of the RSFSR.

Germans Note Opposition to Autonomy in Volga Area

LD1801073290 Moscow TASS in English 2235 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Mikhailov:

Various problems connected with the restoration of German autonomy in the Volga reaches were discussed by a three-day conference of the All-Union Society of Soviet Germans, "Rebirth", which was in its second day here on Wednesday.

Hugo Wormsbecher, co-chairman of the society, noted in his report that the restoration of the autonomous republic of Germans in the Volga reaches is hampered largely by local authorities of the Volgograd and Saratov regions.

He said that residents of the area object to the German autonomy in the area above all because they are not well enough informed.

Wormsbecher said the local press runs items rejecting the very possibility of the restoration of the German republic, while refusing to publish items stating the view of leaders of the "Rebirth" society.

When Wormsbecher's report was discussed, participants in the conference from various cities and regions of the Soviet Union where ethnic Germans reside, noted that the question of the restoration of German autonomy in the Volga reaches should be discussed in an open and well-substantiated debate. The ability to listen to the reasoning of the opposite side is needed.

There were heated debates over the so-called "Kaliningrad variant" of restoring the German autonomy. This is the plan proposing the creation of a territorial formation for Soviet Germans in the Kaliningrad region (formerly eastern Prussia). It was first suggested in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in the autumn of last year by Kurt Widmayer and evoked acute debate.

Heinrich Grouth, co-chairman of the "Rebirth" society, told TASS that the "Kaliningrad variant" is nothing but speculation.

He said that Soviet Germans whose ancestors arrived in Russia several centuries ago have nothing in common with the Kaliningrad region either historically or geographically.

Wormsbecher, in his turn, does not preclude the "Kaliningrad variant" as an alternative to the German autonomy in the Volga reaches.

The conference ends on Thursday.

Irregular Congress Voting Practices Noted

90UN0581A Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 49 Dec 89 p 3

[Letter from Engineer V. Filippov, Smolensk: "Voting With Both Hands"]

[Text] It was mentioned in the press several times that all the problems with voting and the counting of votes at the congresses and sessions would be solved when computers were installed in the hall.

This is precisely what has not happened at the congress. I wish to thank the television technicians. They have helped us to some extent make out who is who. Take a close look at the video recording, and you will see that interesting, but not entirely honest, tricks with the voting sometimes occur. I can vouch for my words before any commission. At the start of the session I did not attach any particular significance to this. But when, on 17 October, the issue of property was discussed, I could not restrain my anger. During the voting one delegate (I can only call the video recording as witness) pressed his button with his left hand, and with his right hand, the button of an absentee. A neighbor nudged him with his elbow and indicated the television camera trained on them. Glancing round furtively, he pretended that nothing had happened. And when they voted for alterations and additions to the "Cooperative System in the USSR" Law, the neighbor on his right performed the same trick with the same button.

On 18 October a woman in the front row contrived to vote for both the right and the left empty seats.

Need we now wonder why half the deputies fear individual voting like fire.

Kharkov Obkom Plenum Makes Personnel Changes

LD2101022390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 90

[Text] An augmented plenum of the Kharkov Obkom of the Communist Party of Ukraine took place on 20 January, at which cadre matters were examined. From a number of alternative candidates, the plenum elected Comrade Ivan Stepanovich Maslov to the office of member of the Bureau and Ideology secretary of the obkom which had been vacated the previous day; he had been working as editor in chief of the republican PRAPOR magazine. A new head of the department for organizational party and cadre work was also confirmed at the plenum, and new members and candidate members of the obkom bureau were elected.

MVD Troops Military Council Meets in Moscow

PM1801105190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "A Difficult Year Ahead"]

[Text] Assemblies of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops leading commanding and political staff, which were held in Moscow, ended with a session of the Military Council 11 January.

Reports on the results of service and combat activity in 1989 and the internal troops' tasks in 1990 were delivered by Colonel General Yu. Shatalin, chief of the internal forces, and Major General A. Griyenko, chief of the Political Directorate. Troops' actions at the flashpoints of interethnic tension, in guarding correctional labor establishments, and in fulfilling other tasks were analyzed.

It was stressed at the session of the Military Council that the current year has been marked by intensified activities of an overtly nationalist hue in the Transcaucasus, a more difficult atmosphere conducive to crime at correctional labor establishments, and a number of negative processes under way in society.

And the personnel's service, which, without exaggeration, is carried out before the people's very eyes, must actively assist MVD organs in ensuring Soviet people's public security, effectively combatting crime, and implementing other responsible tasks entrusted to the troops.

The session of the MVD Internal Troops Military Council was attended by senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR People's Control Committee, the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD's, and the Main Military Prosecutor's Office.

First AIDS Case in Kamchatka Reported

90US0378A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 4 Jan 90 p 4

[I. Khakimov report: "AIDS in Kamchatka"]

[Text] Kamchatka Oblast—The first AIDS patient has been diagnosed in Kamchatka. An 18-month-old girl was apparently infected with the virus outside of the oblast. Prior to the establishment of the exact diagnosis, which was confirmed in Moscow, she had been treated in several hospitals on the peninsula, so now all the efforts of the medical personnel are geared to ascertaining who might have come into contact with her.

Recognizing the great danger in the spread of AIDS, enterprises with an outlet to foreign markets are setting aside currency to acquire special medical equipment. The "Kamchatrybprom" Association, for example, has already purchased 2.5 million disposable syringes.

Chernigov Obkom Plenum Suspended Until 22 Jan

LD1501045690 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukranian 1745 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] A report from Chernigov says that a plenum of the oblast party committee [obkom] began its work here today.

Kravchuk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech, giving information about the sociopolitical situation that has taken shape in the oblast and on urgent measures to stabilize it.

The plenum relieved Palazhchenko of his duties as first secretary and member of the obkom bureau in compliance with is own request. Also removed from the composition of the obkom bureau was Grishko, head of the oblast executive committee.

A decision was adopted to take a break in the work of the plenum until 22 January in order to put forward and discuss the candidature for the job of obkom first secretary in party organizations and front-ranking collectives.

It was proposed that the number of persons participating in the plenum should be expanded through the election of representatives from town and rayon party organizations in the oblast.

Taking part in the plenum's work was chief of the department of organizational, [word indistinct] and cadre work of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Economic

Preliminary Results Show Increased Revenue, GNP

LD2301094590 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Jan 90

[Text] The State Committee on Statistics has summed up the preliminary results of economic and social development in the USSR last year. National revenues increased by 2.4% and the gross national product by 3%.

Gossnab Submits Trade Development Proposals

PM2201144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by economic observer V. Romanyuk: "Through Wholesale Trade—To the Market"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] has submitted to the government its proposals for the development of wholesale trade in the means of production.

Their thrust is to bring into operation economic market regulators—prices and tax concessions—and to galvanize suppliers' brokerage activity.

First of all it was planned to introduce a system of flexible commercial prices and to expand the sphere of commercial prices with regard to output produced over and above the state order. Then it was planned for the first time to use market (auction) prices in selling output. In 1989 wholesale prices were doubled at auctions and for individual types of output they increased 300 to 400%, and conflicting situations with financial organs arose. Now this activity is being put within a clear framework and a taxation scale is being established: 50% goes into the budget, 10% into the market stabilization fund, and 40% is divided according to agreement between the broker and the producer. It is also planned to organize state commercial trade in the means of production. In other words, in addition to centrally allocated distribution some production and technical articles, including imported ones, worth R1 billion to R2 billion in all, will be sold at commercial prices. Here the consumer will have to cover the difference from his own production development fund. If you need output in short supply, you must pay over the odds! In addition the USSR Gossnab proposes (as a temporary measure, it is true) its own unfailing participation in the sale of output whose production has been monopolized. For instance 100% monopolists include the "Kran" association—in the production of electric traveling cranes with a lifting capacity of 20 tonnes—the Belaya Kholunitsa machine plant (belt conveyors), and the Kiev "Bolshevik" plant (lines for the production of polyethylene tubing).

S. Karnaukhov, chief of the USSR Gossnab section for the improvement of material and technical supplies, noted, "The project is based on the fact that a market can be created with any quantity of goods as long as prices, finances, and credit are operating."

But that is not all. An idea is being worked on for the creation of a market stabilization fund. It is a case of forming an additional reserve stock of types of material resources in short supply in case of accidents or emergencies. So far unforeseen situations catch us unaware. According to preliminary assessments, the reserve stock is assessed at R3 billion. We shall have to find additional incentives to organize the production of a reserve stock of cement, rolled metal, trucks, road equipment, and much else and for the creation of additional capacities and the development of storages bases or the lease of storage premises. Incidentally, this fund could be used—given the present devaluation of money!—to encourage those who are carrying out urgent orders.

The network of commodity exchanges (zonal wholesale trade centers) and of service centers for the production and delivery of output with a higher degree of factory readiness should become an important element of the market. At each permanently operating fair (we are a long way from Western exchanges) it will be possible to set up economic ties, to place a purchase order or sell something, and to receive the information you need. The restoration of the market will in addition be served by new economically accountable trading firms. They will perform information and wholesale brokerage services. The cadre backbone for these firms will consist of 2,600 workers from the USSR Gossnab central apparatus—former workers in the sales main administration that was abolished who have settled in the apparatus.

A definite step is thus being taken toward the creation of a market mechanism. It is important that the matter should not be reduced to another list of measures, as has

already happened repeatedly in the past. The USSR Gossnab must now to a substantial degree be relieved of its functions of the direct regulation of commodity flows in order to engage in an analysis of commodity and regional markets and the management of the market stabilization fund and the activity of state and commercial trade brokers.

Problems at Perm Power Station Assessed

PM1801142590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by L. Kaybysheva: "What Blunders Cost"]

[Text] The Perm State Regional Electric Power Station [GRES] power workers have embarked on the commissioning of the third power unit with a capacity of 800,000 kilowatts.

This unit uses the most progressive technical solutions, in particular a modern process control system—the ASU TP [expansion unknown]. This system makes the process as reliable and effective as possible.

The station is being erected by a highly qualified construction and installation collective. Here they have mastered the flow method of installing power units. Subsequently it was planned to construct several more stations by the flow process in the Urals and West Siberia and to commission an average of 1.5 million kw of new capacities a year. The men and the construction sites' construction and installation base are ready for this. This is also the dream of potential power consumers: petroleum workers, plant workers, rural and urban inhabitants, and present and future newcomers. A fine prospect.

If... If we do not, as we usually do, cut away the branch on which we are sitting.

The commission of the Perm GRES' third power unit was for a long time on the verge of disruption because of belated and incomplete deliveries. The ordeals began from the moment the section of the main building and the ASU TP itself were installed.

They decided to buy the system abroad. But until May last year there was no contract for it and no one knew for sure whether they would install one of our ASU's or a foreign one. Of course, Soviet ASU's are weaker, on the other hand they are paid for in rubles and not hard currency. It is hard to say who exactly delayed the choice between rubles and currency. As a result they nonetheless lost more. The construction part and the ASU TP itself had to be designed and then installed literally from sight. Much was redone.

But nevertheless, must an ASU TP be bought "over there"? Does our esteemed Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making really not acknowledge its complete inability? After all, they make more complicated things. They make them for some people, but with regard to power engineering a tradition has become entrenched: Making things any old way and dispatching everything at the last minute. For instance, in late November the Perm GRES still lacked 85 km of cables and 241 instruments. The metallurgical workers failed to deliver 118 sluice items [shchitovyye izdeliya], and they should have been received in June. As a result there were months of emergency work at the construction site.

The workers—construction and installation workers—know in advance that they will have to forget their days off and a normal work regime solely because other workers at plants have organized a quiet life for themselves. The fourth power unit of the Perm GRES will be in an even more complex position than the third; it has been crossed from the list of particularly important construction sites with all ensuing consequences.

Not only at the Perm construction site but also at other new construction sites in the region—the Nizhnevartovsk, Urengoy, Surgut, Pechorskiy, and Central Urals GRES's—the principle of flow construction has been disrupted because of tardy and incomplete deliveries of equipment. People are demoralized by forced stoppages. Highly qualified specialists and workers are often unable to receive their wages on time because the directors of these power stations under construction have, again probably not for the sake of it, become indebted to our construction sites to the tune of a total of about R60 million. The most enterprising and venturesome leave the sector for cooperatives, taking with them their very valuable, unique speciality. Yet the construction and installation workers have been "raised" in electrical engineering for decades.

Requests and demands to step up heat supplies and build new electric power stations are increasing from various cities in our country; after all, industrial enterprises receive electricity under quotas. In order somehow to "muddle through" they have to recarve the calendar, making Saturday and Sunday working days.

Is all this known to the zealous fighters for ecological well-being who have chosen "No!" as their sole argument and who are reluctant to consider reality?

"At 60 electric power stations with a total capacity of over 158 million kW," says Ye. Petryayev, USSR deputy minister of power and electrification, "under public pressure, and also because of the lack of funds, the construction of the main projects has been suspended. When the country lacks consumer goods, everyone tries to find ways of producing them. But when electricity is lacking everything is done to ensure that there is even less of it."

Surely we are not all suited by the prospect of sitting in our apartments without heat or light?

Contributions of Vietnamese Workers Discussed

90UI0286A Moscow TRUD in Russian
12 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by TRUD special correspondent E. Zhurabayev: "Workers from Vietnam"]

[Text] **Eighty-five-thousand Vietnamese workers are scattered over various regions and cities of our country. Until recently there was nothing but praise in the press about them. Now the pendulum of journalism seems to have swung in the other direction: The Vietnamese visitors are nothing but a headache because of the expenses for their accommodation, their equipment and training; there are air fare and language problems; they buy our sparse consumer goods; they indulge in black marketing; and so on.**

In my opinion, similar articles are as one-sided as the previous extra-laudatory ones. It really became a habit to total up the basic losses but to forget somehow the cost of material values and the profits that the Vietnamese workers bring to the industries and to the state budget. However, any accounting is based on two columns of figures: Credit and debit.

Let us try to figure out this double accounting through the example of the Raduga Sewing Association in the city of Orel. But first I want to mention that due to the quite small number of Vietnamese in the city, there is no such turmoil over wholesale purchases by the Vietnamese as in many other cities. For that reason local administrators are capable of a quiet and businesslike discussion of all the positive and negative aspects of employing the Vietnamese.

Let us listen to the views of Vladimir Skalukh, Raduga's young and energetic manager:

"We decided to receive a total of 200 Vietnamese girls for work here. Was the decision correct? Correct is not the word! In many ways our factory started to be noticed just because of these girls. The Vietnamese became for us a breath of fresh air in the suffocating conditions of our labor shortage.

"The consumer industry kept losing workers in numbers. This was even more pronounced here in Orel due to the rival presence of rich employers: our instrument making factories.

"Between 1980 and 1984 the association lost about 1,000 people. A quarter of the working places stood vacant, teams were halved, and production lines were engaged only to about half their capacity.

"At that critical moment the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor] and Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] of the RSFSR offered to Raduga the services of the Vietnamese.

"In those days it was an unusual decision," says Skalukh. "I hesitated for 2 whole years. But then I learned about a similar experience of sewing factories in Ordzhonikidze and Belgorod and I finally decided. In October 1987 Raduga received its first Vietnamese girls. Of course they came unprepared, without any winter clothing, without a word of Russian. We started by teaching them, like other Soviet factories: They received 3 months of language and 6 months of work training. Rather unexpectedly for us, they started sewing rather well after just 1 month of learning their trade. Later it got even better. Factory shops started fulfilling their quotas after they got new workers; the production lines gained their normal tempo. Apart from doing her own share of work, every Vietnamese seamstress allows for more efficiency in the work of her Soviet colleagues. So in the end we do not just add but multiply our forces!

"You can judge for yourself: In 1987 the Vietnamese were no part of our production program and we had a lot of trouble producing R70 million worth of goods. In 1988 our association became international and we easily produced goods amounting to R79 million, even though we started producing children's clothes, which are cheap and, objectively, unprofitable. In 1989 we produced three times as much children's clothing but it did not undermine our production program.

"The production norms per worker at Raduga are quite high but our Vietnamese friends cope with them, in general, quite well. They are not burdened with families, so they do not have any claims for the scarce vacancies in kindergartens and Young Pioneers' camps; they do not require sick leave to take care of children. If we could build another dormitory we would have invited, with pleasure, 400 more Vietnamese workers."

Vladimir Skalukh's views were supported by Raduga Deputy Manager for Economics and Commerce Polina Sereditskaya:

"According to our most modest estimates, in 1990 we will fully employ 150 Vietnamese girls (50 girls will continue their training) and, after all payments to the central funds are made, they will bring to the association R95,000 of net profit. If we count in terms of highly profitable clothes—i.e. fashionable styles for men and women instead of children's clothing—then it would amount to about R1 million in profits. And that is not all. The state budget and Minlegprom benefit even more from their work because they receive 85% of all profits from the sewing industry. As one can see, the work of Vietnamese girls is, in the final run, profitable for the association even with the kind of deductions that we consider close to robbery. If someone had removed the Vietnamese work force from Raduga now we would have produced R9 million worth of consumer goods less than the quota."

I cite here all the opinions and figures given to me by the Raduga managers but I am not at all trying to say that employing the Vietnamese does not involve many of the problems mentioned by me at the beginning of this article. These problems have been covered at length in

our press including TRUD. Quite the contrary, I was told about very serious difficulties that confront the Raduga manager, his deputy, factory shop foremen, and the officials of the Orel oblsovprof [oblast council of trade unions]. And what is more, these difficulties sometimes reduce certain officials to a state of total confusion. But the game, probably, is worth the candles, especially if one looks at today's facts and figures rather than at the emotions; this is the main thing.

However, some people might consider the example of Raduga unique and, for that reason, not very convincing. I went to the USSR Goskomtrud to get more general data.

Unfortunately, they politely declined to grant an interview or to provide a comment on the subject but from talking to certain officials in that committee I derived the following picture. All expenditures on the accommodation and training of Vietnamese workers get repaid within a year and a half or two years while their stay in the USSR lasts from four to six years. This means that every Vietnamese brings a certain amount of profit to his factory and to the country over several years. Another fact which proves how profitable this all is: Goskomtrud receives many more requests for Vietnamese workers from various regions of the country than it currently can possibly satisfy.

At the same time the central agencies tend to limit this cooperation as they are turning the industries toward more intensive development and also due to the difficult situation in the consumers' market.

Taking all of this into account, we can expect serious changes in the system of employment of Vietnamese by the Soviet enterprises. As it was explained to me in the USSR Goskomtrud, the present 10-year agreement between our two governments expires at the end of next year. It should be replaced by a different quality agreement on the basic principles of our cooperation in this area. In accordance with it, Soviet enterprises will discuss independently with Vietnamese organizations the concrete terms for the invitation of Vietnamese workers. The only functions left for the USSR Goskomtrud will be those of licensing the future contracts. An enterprise will be able to get a permit only if it does not have any possibility to develop by renewing the equipment or by using the local labor force. Such an enterprise will have to guarantee the necessary accomodation of the Vietnamese and gain the support of the local ispolkom [executive committee].

Besides, the Vietnamese side will also participate in considering the Soviet offers, basing their decision on their previous experiences, whether positive or negative, of cooperation with certain industries and regions of our country. The priority will be given, of course, to those who have already proved themselves capable of creating an efficiently organized working process and of providing acceptable living conditions for the Vietnamese. Another fact will also be taken into account: Some of the industries, such as consumer goods, car building, and construction, and some of the sparsely populated regions will have a particular need for foreign workers.

This new basis for cooperation and stricter criteria for the selection of partners aim at decreasing the total number of Vietnamese workers in our factories. Already this year, the total quota for employment of Vietnamese workers by Soviet factories was reduced to 4650 people compared to 22,000 in 1989.

Judging by all of this, the new agreement will help to find a reasonable compromise between economic profits and social tensions, the two dissimilar companions of our cooperation in the area of labor resources.

Agricultural

Collective Farm Council Criticizes Reforms

LD1701181890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] Today's session of the Union Council of Collective Farms to which I have come is devoted to discussion of the USSR draft laws on ownership, a single system of taxation, and on land. It was envisaged that a report would be given by Comrade Kukhar, chairman of the Council of Collective Farms. But because of his illness, only a short report by Aleksandr Ivanovich Iyevlev, the deputy chairman, was heard. He has yet another office, I would say a unique one. He is the chairman of the elimination commission of the State Agro-Industrial Committee.

I shall say straightaway that I could not be there right to the end of this session, but judging from the speeches that I heard in the first half of it, the outcome of this discussion may be clear, since up to the present time all the decisions in this democratic body of the collective farm peasantry were always adopted unanimously and without alternatives.

All those who spoke at the session stigmatized our academicians and publicists who, and I am quoting, have diverged from the party's general line and have slipped onto the sidelines. The surnames were thereby named of Academicians Tikhonov, Nikonov, and the publicist Chernichenko. Earlier they frequently figured in such discussions, but now the surname of Geliy Shmelev, corresponding member of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, has been added to them, who recently spoke out in the newspaper IZVESTIYA with criticism of some official agrarian conceptions.

Applause also resounded when the terror in the mass media was dealt with. What was said, moreover? Our respected representatives of the collective farm peasantry—to be more precise, of the best and most wealthy collective farms—scathingly criticized the draft laws on ownership and on land, and those who support these

laws. Before that, the Russian Council of Collective Farms had already spoken out against them categorically. Here at the session it was noted that the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Issues and Food, headed by Comrade Veprev, is going against the policy of the Union Council of Collective Farms and the opinions of many deputies who make up the agrarian parliamentary group.

No changes took place after the First Congress of People's Deputies adopted the decision on priorities in agriculture. Nor has there been movement since the meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with the agrarians, which took place during the Second Congress of People's Deputies. These were the utterances that resounded in the auditorium. The main thing at present is not to create conditions for the lease contractors, for the peasant farms, the speakers at today's session said, but to form a solid barrier against the draft laws, to prevent the whole from being divided up, and to give the collective farms independence. The participants in the council appealed for vigilance. To confirm this, quotes from works by Lenin and Chayanov were cited, incidentally from those same works that are also cited by supporters of forms of ownership with equal rights in the agrarian sector. This is how today's session went off.

Yet another issue was to be examined by it today on the development of auxiliary production facilities and industries on the country's collective farms. At present there are more than 120,000 production facilities of this type on collective farms. Up to 1 million people are engaged in them between farming seasons. It is precisely this that largely allows the collective farms to uphold their financial state, to resolve social problems. At present, as many members of the Union Council of Collective Farms think, new possibilities have appeared for the development of this type of activity on farms.

Party Secretary Views State of Agriculture

904B0117A Moscow ZEMLYA I LYUDI in Russian No 1, 1 Jan 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of CPSU Central Committee: "Time for Concrete Action"]

[Text] The calendar has begun the count of the days of the last year of the 5-year plan, one of fundamental political, social, and economic transformations. The revolutionary renewal of life, developed at the initiative of the party and actively supported by the people, is increasingly emancipating the driving forces of society, removing the roadblocks in the way of democratization, and elevating the personality. The party has firmly pronounced in favor of socialism in its Leninist understanding—humane and democratic—the building of a society of people's high social protection, and the development of man's creative capabilities, gifts, and economic enterprise. This policy is being materialized increasingly via the decisions of the congresses of people's deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet sessions. "We need to create," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his closing remarks at the Second Congress of People's Deputies, "the law-based, economic and social prerequisites to ensure that the peasants may display enterprise and, simply put, show themselves to be masters on the land."

It is becoming as clear as can be on the paths of perestroyka that our main wealth is not oil and gas, gold and silver but man and the vast expanses of the fields and cultivated areas on which he lives, works, and feeds himself. Man and the land—these two concepts are indivisible, so interconnected, like bread and water, are they. Nonetheless, attempts have been made over the decades to separate them from one another. Disregarding experience built up over the centuries, land was used barbarously, as if by time-servers, and 35 million hectares of agricultural land were mercilessly flooded, rendered barren, and squandered. And all because they were nobody's; no one was responsible for them. Technocratic approaches and aspirations to immediate benefits prevailed in policy.

This policy undermined the people's trust, evoked disenchantment and engendered indifference, apathy, and dependency. This is why people have greeted the turnabout toward the man living on the land as a dawn of hope and the bold idea of revival of our peasantry.

It needs to be revived not only for the sake of repletion, although this is important. But it is far more important to recall K. Marx's observation that it is in the countryside, which has not been corrupted by alienated wage labor, that a people's natural energy finds refuge, being preserved there as a reserve fund for the revival of the vital strength of the nations. The weekly, which as of today is called ZEMLYA I LYUDI, is called upon to assist this process also. The renaming of a publication which had already come to be recognized by the readers, to which the circulation, increasing from year to year, points, is not a tribute to fashion and not an endeavor to dissociate itself from the past but definition of the paper's clear-cut position in the restructuring process and its movement nearer to those who by their labor are transforming our life. After all, the weekly has to show comprehensively and in depth the restructuring of socioeconomic relationships in the countryside via various forms of the organization of production and ownership and via their increased integration relations and to help the party organizations create in the work force an atmosphere conducive to the assimilation of the achievements of agricultural science and practice, retooling of the processing industry, and improvement of the management of the agro-industrial complex.

The tasks confronting the newspaper are on the grand scale. It is called upon to portray and support people, the exponents of the new thinking and their spiritual and moral character and man's primordial love for the land and the cause of his fathers and grandfathers, which is extremely necessary for the revival of the people's social

optimism. So we wish the weekly ZEMLYA I LYUDI and the journalists of the editorial office success in their accomplishment.

The past year abounded in many historic events. Nonetheless, the greatest impression on the minds of rural workers was undoubtedly made by the CPSU Central Committee's March (1989) plenum, which formulated the new agrarian policy. The basis of the policy is a transformation of production relations and the development of the most diverse forms of ownership because, as the plenum emphasized, only via a new mechanism of management, a cooperative system, and leasing is it possible to reveal to the maximum the potential of our socialist agricultural production, overcome the stagnation phenomena in the agrarian sector, and remove as quickly as possible the acute situation in the provision of the population with foodstuffs.

This approach to the solution of a most important, and I would say the biggest, most painful, most urgent problem, which has for many years been troubling the people's public consciousness and creating tension in the country, invests particular responsibility in rural workers, all people working in the agrarian sector, in the party committees, and in the soviet and economic-planning authorities at the center and locally. It will essentially be necessary to answer with concrete action the question: Are they capable of organizing work to feed their people, and are they capable of sparing us a system, shameful in our time, of rationing?

And considerable prerequisites have been created for an answer in the affirmative. Command-pressure methods of management are becoming a thing of the past, giving way to economic methods. The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] have been accorded extensive economic independence. They will reveal their possibilities even more under the new conditions of management. The main thing is imparting to them extensive democratic foundations. Leasing relations, various forms of joint labor, family livestock units, and peasant farms are developing everywhere, albeit not as rapidly as we would like. The Leasing Act recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet legally enshrines their equal position among the other agricultural producers. A draft law on local self-management has been published, and draft laws on property, the land, and the socialist enterprise are being discussed. All these and many other laws which have still to be enacted—and there are approximately 50 of them—anticipate the creation of a system of legal instruments making it possible to legally enshrine the diversity of forms of ownership and afford scope for economic independence, initiative, and creativity.

All this will make it possible to put an end to man's alienation from the land and other means of production, make the peasant the master of his fate, and afford him an opportunity to freely work and dispose of the fruits of his labor. This is why it is necessary to move more boldly toward fundamental changes in economic relations. Waiting a little longer, looking to see, according to the old custom, how things are turning out for a neighbor cannot be done. We would lose time, faith, and results.

I speak about this with good reason. Despite the manifest advantages, already proven in practice in many places, of the new forms of management, whereby collectives are achieving striking changes in literally 1 or 2 years, progressive economic relations are still not being assimilated as extensively as the situation in the countryside requires. Only one-tenth of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and not in full measure even then, have switched to leasing relations. The party committees and agro-industrial authorities should be giving a more active account of themselves in this process since the factors holding back this process are contained today not so much in economics, as in ideology, firmly established conservatism and the personnel's cliche thinking. After all, the kolkhozes are still being counterposed to leasing, the cooperative system to the private trader, and the family livestock units to the kulak. What is this if not concealed resistance to the new principles and the new approaches?

Of course, the unpreparedness of the personnel and a lack of experience and elementary know-how are reflected also. Indeed, leasing land and means of production to incidental people means putting an important undertaking in jeopardy before one starts. Painstaking preparatory work, for which, unfortunately, paper-shuffling and the armchair-poster method of instruction substitute in many places, is required here. Base farms have not been created and there are no real leaders and pioneers of the new economic relations in a number of areas. Progressive forms of management are practically unapplied in the food and processing sectors and in rural construction.

It needs to be understood that without trained people and without competent and concerned personnel we will not get moving. Their training, morale, and material stimulation should be the subject of the constant concern of the party, soviet, and economic authorities. The countryside will not be raised up without an influx of intellectual forces.

Life imperatively demands that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes be transformed more rapidly into associations of primary cooperatives. This will not do away with but, on the contrary, strengthen socialist forms of management. It is important to organize a system of labor relations which ensures that it be profitable for everyone to work honestly.

It is gratifying that the agro-industrial centers and agrarian integrated works, agro-firms and associations, agro-consortia and joint stock companies, which have been created in recent years in many regions, are operating successfully on the principles of cooperation and integration. They are increasing the production of an extensive selection of products at an accelerated pace

and noticeably influencing an improvement in the food supply of the cities and industrial centers.

With what results have workers of the country's agrarian sector reached the finishing line of the 4th year of the 5-year plan? The gross agricultural product increased by R20 billion in the 4 years on average compared with the average annual level of the 11th 5-Year Plan or 10 percent. The average annual production of grain increased in this period by 26 million tons, of meat by 2.9 million, and of milk by 10.6 million tons. Almost 210 million tons of grain were harvested this year, and more than 8 million tons of oil-bearing crops, including over 6 million tons of sunflower, were obtained for the first time. Last year's level in terms of the production and purchases of sugar beet, potatoes, and flax fiber was exceeded. The profit of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex increased noticeably, the number of loss-incurring farms declined, and the growth of indebtedness to the banks was halted. In the present complex economic situation, more than 30 oblasts have been able to so organize work as not only to cope successfully with supplies to centralized stocks, but also appreciably improve food supply for themselves. People have become aware of the changes here, optimism and labor assertiveness have grown, and the feeling of the joy of labor—that is, of a higher meaning in work—has begun to return among them.

Nonetheless, in terms of the majority of types of plant-growing and animal husbandry product, the Food Program is not being fulfilled. In the time which has elapsed since the adoption of the program, the arrears of people working in the agro-industrial complex have constituted R29 billion of gross product.

Considerable efforts are required to change this unpropitious situation. Without an appreciable increase in the amounts of capital investments and supplies of modern equipment and other material resources, it will be impossible to achieve a real breakthrough in the production of foodstuffs and the really extensive development of social transformations in the countryside. And it is not fortuitous that in the 13th 5-Year Plan the amount of capital investments in the nonproduction sphere will increase by a factor of 1.5 and that R77 billion will be channeled into the manufacturing sphere. In the plan for the present year also only the agrarian sector will receive appropriations in the full amount as envisaged by the 5-year plan.

But we still need to know how to make use of these increased opportunities. Let us be frank. The path of an increase in capital investments in agriculture is not new. Essentially each pivotal CPSU Central Committee plenum for agriculture, be it that of 1953, 1965, or 1982, has been based on the main postulate that the more we invest, the more products, accordingly, we will obtain. But practice has persuaded us that this formula does not always work or that investments are always recouped.

Of course, this does not mean that we can operate without capital investments. That they are essential is unequivocal, but that this is not the sole path of development of the agro-industrial complex is obvious also. Experience shows, if we may put it thus, that outlays on man himself produce the highest and speediest returns. We need to resurrect the true peasant capable of running production independently, without urging, on a modern science and technology basis, and put him on a par with other strata of society. And for this it is necessary primarily to provide for the social revival of the countryside and give the peasant really well-appointed accommodations in which the municipal conveniences of the modern city are combined with the advantages of a rural life. On this basis, it is a striving for the continuity of generations so that peasant affairs pass from father to children, and from them, to the grandchildren. I am sure that given this approach, we would cease talking about the rise in crime, which was so painfully affirmed at the Congress of People's Deputies.

But a solid home with sturdy outbuildings is not the villager's sole concern. Dependable asphalted roads are needed not only for contact with the city, but also so that the milkmaid may walk to the livestock section not just in rubber boots, and so that the powerful "Kirovets" not overstrain itself transporting the harvest from the fields.

It is very important to develop more actively the subsidiary enterprises and works and create conditions for the revival of as large a number of trades as possible so that there are not only machine operators and stockbreeders, but so that room be found for any creative individual. And let him draw his inspiration from the beauties of the nature of the world around him.

We still, unfortunately and distressingly, have to speak also about shortcomings in medical services for the rural inhabitant, the schools which are closing down, the collapsing club rooms and libraries, and the shortcomings of consumer and trade services.

A deaf, indifferent attitude toward urgent problems of the villagers, which were for many years considered normal, have erupted into an irreversible process which we cannot halt today even with large-scale capital investments. This is why we should not primarily be speaking about an increase in grain and meat, but of an increase in elementary human attention to people and their everyday life and culture. Without understanding this and without having looked into the complex range of tragedies being experienced by today's village, the main task of perestroyka—feeding our people—cannot be accomplished.

Where people have understood this and gotten boldly down to business, concern for man is already producing real results. Success comes, as a rule, where the renewal of the villages and hamlets is conducted comprehensively, where people have known how to concentrate the

efforts of the design, construction, and supply organizations and of all who can in one way or another render real assistance.

Speaking of the accomplishment of such strategic tasks as the social restructuring of the village and a fundamental change in economic relationships in the countryside, we must on no account forget in the name of what all this is being done. The pivot of our entire policy is geared to an accelerated buildup of food resources for the fuller provision of the people with foodstuffs.

The increase in farming and animal husbandry products which has been achieved in the current 5-year plan can in no way satisfy us. After all, almost the entire increase in output goes to cover increasing needs in connection with the increase in the numbers of the population of an average of 2.5 million persons a year. Thus in order to really perceive an improvement in the situation on the food market it is essential to at least double the increase in agricultural production.

How is this to be achieved? We need primarily to firmly understand that the foundation of all agricultural production is, as before, grain. This is the starting position of both a strengthening of the economy of the agrarian sector and an increase in the production of animal husbandry products. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently deemed it necessary to draw up all-union programs for grain and meat for the period 1991-1995. The realization of these programs would make it possible to bring the agro-industrial complex to new frontiers and impart to it a new qualitative condition.

The task is to make these documents an effective guide to action. The programs must be comprehensive, profoundly worked out, and practicable for all levels of production, from the lessee, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, rayon, oblast, kray, and republic through the union level. They must take into consideration a solicitous attitude toward the land and its fertility based on the most modern systems and techniques to ensure that it pass into the hands of descendants richer and more beautiful than it was bequeathed to us.

We need to clearly determine here what needs to be done at the center, and what needs to be done locally. And here also the communists and party committees must participate most actively for the preparation of such programs is a political matter.

What would seem to be of particular importance in this work? I shall touch merely on the grain program. It is a question primarily of the formulation of an economic mechanism which would interest the immediate lessees-producers, machine operators, and kolkhoz and sovkhoz collectives in an increase in the production of high-grade grain and the sale thereof to the state. It is necessary to adopt a balanced approach to the planning of the production, purchases, and use of grain in order that the state commission be conveyed to each specific producer. In a word, it is necessary to organize business so that the sale of grain to the state is the most profitable action.

The main direction in grain production is the assimilation of intensive techniques and zonal farming systems, which, granted all our shortcomings, afford an opportunity for obtaining almost a ton of grain per hectare more than given conventional sowings. The biggest reserve is an expansion of the sowings of corn for its potential is double that of the other cereals. After all, we have practically everything for obtaining corn grain on a vast territory from the western borders to Siberia and the Far East.

For many years the efforts of the party, soviet, and economic-planning authorities have been geared mainly to an increase in products. As far, however, as their storage and intensive processing are concerned, these problems have become secondary and at times have been ignored altogether. As a result new manufacturing industry capacity has been created in extremely limited amounts and at a low engineering level, and the old enterprises have not been modernized and have gradually been falling into a state of disrepair. Such a short-sighted policy has not led to the gross corn harvest growing from year to year, but to the store counters becoming sparser and sparser. There has been a deterioration in the quality and a narrowing of the selection of products.

The losses of agricultural raw material and finished products during their storage and processing are truly enormous. This applies particularly to vegetables, plant fruit, potatoes, and tree fruit. Some 260 kg of potatoes are produced in the country currently per inhabitant, but only 105 kg thereof are used for food purposes. The same is happening with meat. We raise 68 kg per person (in dressed weight), but only 65 kg reach the table. We catch 40 kg of fish, but use as food 18 kg and throw out a further 2 or 3 kg in preparation in the home. The losses of grain, sugar beet, and other products are just as high.

At the present time our cultivation of the food product (from what it has been possible to preserve) per ton of livestock, milk, fish, sugar beet, and sunflower seeds is 20 and sometimes 30 percent lower than in a number of other countries. It transpires that the more we produce, the more we lose. We need to erect a strong barrier against losses, lax management, and extravagance.

The processing industry has lagged behind considerably in our country. It is sufficient to say that we process little more than one-fifth of vegetables, less than 2 percent of potatoes, and 85 percent of milk, but half of it goes to prepare butter here, and a considerable amount of the skim milk and buttermilk is not used for food purposes.

While producing more milk per capita than in the United States, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and even the FRG, we produce 5-8 times less cheese than in these countries. In many regions children do not see ice cream even for years on end.

The situation in the meat-processing industry is extremely difficult. Farms and, particularly, the population are experiencing great difficulties when it comes to surrendering livestock. There is a lack of refrigerating capacity. The long holdover of animals and their unwarranted transportation over great distances are allowed to occur. All this results in huge losses of meat on the order of millions of tons a year.

Paramount significance is now attached to the development of the food industry. Essentially all the mechanical engineering ministries, the defense complex included, have been switched in to its retooling. Important engineering forces have been enlisted in the designing of new equipment. The allocation of financial resources has been increased considerably. Some R5.3 billion are now invested to this end annually, almost R1 billion more than on average in the preceding 5-year plan.

In developing such an immense business as the creation of a processing sector essentially from scratch it is very important not to err in strategy. It is essential here to take account of both our own and world experience. We need to ensure that each rayon in any oblast or republic have processing enterprises for the full volume of the produce cultivated there and provide its population with a sufficient selection. Only thus will it be possible to seriously rectify the situation concerning supplies of foodstuffs.

With the transition of the republics and oblasts to regional cost accounting particular responsibility is entrusted to the party committees and local soviets in the accomplishment of this most important state task. The communists and party organizations must assume the brunt of the organization of the restructuring of economic relationships in the countryside and the social renewal of the village and get closer to people's day-to-day needs and concerns.

What might I wish to warn against in this strenuous and truly titanic work? Life has repeatedly taught us a painful lesson when, carried away by some idea or other, we have become detached from actual reality, consuming the tremendous energy of the masses with insufficient efficiency. This is why each step must be scientifically verified. It is certainly time to cease abusing science while failing to fulfill its recommendations. It would be far more effective to help it in the elaboration and realization of promising ideas and a further search for progressive agricultural methods and ways of enhancing the fertility of the land and creating the most modern agricultural technology. This is why it is important to enlist all of society's intellectual forces and organize matters such as to necessarily overcome the difficulties which have befallen us and conquer without losing our socialist ideals here.

The country has entered the new, final year of the 5-year plan, a year which is called upon to be pivotal to a large extent. The political, economic, and social tasks which confront the people, communists, and the rural workers are tremendous in terms of their transforming power. Tackling them successfully will mean taking a confident step forward along the path of the renewal of our society.

Military

Inquiry Initiated Into Sale of Tanks Abroad

PM2201162190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "'Octopus' Beneath the Railroad Signal"]

[Text] On M.S. Gorbachev's instructions a special commission has been set up in connection with the article "'Octopus' Beneath the Railroad Signal" in the 14 January 1990 edition of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. It is headed by Comrade V.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The commission comprises: Comrade O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and others.

Checks have been organized and have started to be carried out into the sale abroad of combat equipment by the "ANT" State-Cooperative Association. The working group comprises senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the USSR KGB, and the USSR People's Control Committee.

Once the check has been completed its results will be published.

The "Novorossiysk" situation concerning the cooperative's tanks is being examined by the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military-Industrial Affairs.

General on Changes in Soviet Military Doctrine

AU2201092790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 90 p 6

[Article by Major General Vladimir Belous: "Is It Always True: The More, The Better? On Changes in the Soviet Military Doctrine"]

[Excerpts] In the joint Soviet-American statement of December 1987, data were published about the number and types of strategic missiles and nuclear warheads in the arsenals of the two countries. For the first time, the general public found out that the Soviet Union has seven types of intercontinental ballistic missiles, compared with three in the U.S. arsenal, and six types of submarine-based ballistic missiles, compared with two in the American arsenal.

One need not be a military expert to arrive at the assessment that this comparison is not to the Soviet Union's advantage. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, too little emphasis used to be placed in our country on the principle of standardization and unification of combat technology, which is of extraordinary significance in the armed forces.

How can this situation be explained?

The great hardships experienced by the nations of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War left deep marks on the social mentality and the level of military-political thinking in the country. The proposition that "the year 1941 must not repeat itself" was transformed into the practical guideline that "no effort must be spared to reinforce defense." [passage omitted] A costly system of military-strategic planning, which corresponded to this mentality, became a heavy burden on the country's economy. [passage omitted]

In the irrational planning of the development of strategic forces, a considerable role was played by the absence of glasnost in the adoption of military programs. This was characteristic of the entire period up to the mid-eighties. Military programs used to be considered by a narrow circle of representatives of the higher political leadership and military command and there was no comprehensive and qualified assessment of projects by independent experts.

An example of the irrational approach to the solution of the most important questions of defense was the deployment of the RSD-10 (SS-20) intermediate-range missiles. The result of this short-sighted policy was that the Soviet Union was forced to undergo a disproportionate cut in the number of its nuclear weapons: 1,846 Soviet missiles and 1,487 nuclear warheads, compared with 846 American missiles and 442 nuclear warheads. Millions of rubles had been squandered.

When discussing the causes of shortcomings in military planning, a word needs to be said about the role of the military industry.

The military industry had been built in the years of the "cold war" as a result of pressure brought to bear by the U.S. military power. Gradually, it acquired a certain independence, strength, and influence. In the sixties, seventies, and in the first half of the eighties, an outright diktat of the military industry became apparent in determining military-technological policy. Design offices and military plants had maximum interest in having the arms systems which they developed go into production.

Individual types of armament were often approved in defiance of resistance by the ministry of defense. In selecting types of armament for production, consideration was not always given to the choice of the best of competing types. More than once the principle "to everyone what he deserves" led to the purchase of several types of armament, the combat properties of which differed only insignificantly.

The development of restructuring in the Soviet Union has had a profound impact on the content of the Soviet military doctrine. To avert war has become its main goal. The advancment of glasnost into the military sphere helps to assume a more profound and better-considered approach to the planning of the development and production of weapons.

The formation of the Council of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Defense and State Security should play a positive role in determining the military programs of arms development, which will be based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

Even now, practical steps are being taken to reduce the number of types of missiles in the arsenal.

It is beyond doubt, during the process of implementing the future agreement on a 50 percent cut in the number of strategic offensive weapons, that this "heterogeneousness of types" will be substantially reduced.

Lizichev Meets With Officers Based in Lithuania

PM1701145190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent report: "Topical Conversation"]

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Jan—Today in the unit where officer V. Uskhopchik serves, a meeting was held between officers from the unit and the republic's military commissariat and Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Questions regarding the democratization of the Army, officers' social protection, and raising combat readiness were analyzed.

Colonel General F.M. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District troops, participated in the meeting.

Black Sea Fleet Surplus Sale Held

PM1801111190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent S. Troyan: "Sold at Military Fair"]

[Text] Sevastopol—Much of what the inhabitants of Sevastopol were able to buy that day at the Construction Workers Club had been gathering dust for years at the depots of the Black Sea Fleet rear services subunits. Hundreds and hundreds of the city's inhabitants visited the first sales exhibition.

Of course, it is still very unusual to see salesmen in naval uniforms as traders. But, as in any sector of the national economy, from time to time surpluses of all kinds of items form in the defense complex. And there is a natural desire to rid itself of these material assets, in which considerable social labor has been invested, to the best advantage.

Amateur fishermen and hunters went to the corner where waterproof suits, trousers, and jackets were hanging and rubber boots and so forth were on display. Young boys constantly milled around the area where radio components were on display—condensers, fuses, subassemblies, harnesses [komplekty provodov], and headphones. Various measuring instruments and electronic components were in great demand and the fleet's central medical depot did quite a brisk trade. Inhalers were bought up one after the other and five wheelchairs found owners. They were sold at prime cost—R312.

Many objects were sold from display models—after all, there are still dozens of wheelchairs in the stores and hundreds of "unopened" electric motors. It turns out that if you inspect the "military bins" well, you can extract more than prime movers with tanks.

In Sevastopol the trade was not only for ready cash. Goods could also be bought by transfer. That is why wholesalers—the "Young Technician" store, special-interest clubs, and other organizations and institutions—did not have to leave the sales exhibition empty-handed. And the military seamen acquired tens of thousands of rubles. There are more fairs to come.

Dearth of Information on Reserve Draft Deplored

PM2201093790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 p 1

[B. Vishnevskiy report: "And Only Two Hours to Assemble"]

[Text] A morning call to the editorial office:

"My husband has been enlisted to fight!" A young woman from Kislovodsk weeps at the other end of the telephone.

Similar calls from Pyatigorsk, Yessentuki, and Proletarsk in Rostov Oblast follow.

Then another one from the Transbaykal region. The wife of the author of these lines is trying to get in touch with him while he is on a business trip from Chita to Moscow.

I read the cable transmitted to the correspondent's office via telephone: "Urgent! Report to the rayon military commissariat with your military documents."

I ring Chita. It is past midnight there. The duty officer's tired voice replies:

The panic is over, comrade correspondent. The men have been chosen. Destination? Transcaucasia.

I ask him how I can reach the oblast military commissariat to clarify the situation. They try to dissuade me. "The general has been at the commissariat for 48 hours without a break. He has just gone home to rest."

Maybe, in Moscow they know what is going on. I cite a telephone conversation with Colonel A. Drozhzhinyy, head of the political directorate of the oblast military commissariat:

"There are no plans to draft in any more reservists. Routine work is under way. We are preparing for elections."

However, let us return to yesterday's radio address by D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense. I am referring to the phrase that reservists to reinforce units to their wartime level will be sent to the territory adjoining the Transcaucasus Military District.

Who are the nameless reservists? How many of them? From where? Are not the "reservists" themselves entitled to know? Not from rumors, but from authoritative, government sources?

"To my great regret," Major General V. Manilov, chief of the Information Administration of the USSR Ministry of Defense, said, "I cannot add anything to our minister's address." I hope that by tonight or tomorrow morning the question will be resolved and we will, finally, be able to comment.

Baltic Komsomol Conference Concerned at Events

PM2201135590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by Senior Lieutenant V. Bugayev under the rubric "Komsomol Conferences": "A Step Forward"]

[Excerpts] A frank discussion on ways to restructure the work being done by the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] has taken place at the Baltic Fleet Komsomol Conference. [passage omitted].

The question of the events taking place in the Baltic region was pointedly raised at the Komsomol conference. Delegates spoke with concern about the fact that the Baltic region's Komsomol organizations have begun to pursue a line of curtailing long-standing sponsorship ties with fleet ships and units.

The conference elected a Baltic Fleet Komsomol Organizations Council, of which Lieutenant Captain A. Gusev became chairman. Delegates to the 21st Komsomol Congress and the 1st Congress of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Komsomol organizations were also elected.

The conference was addressed by V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee. The following took part in the work of the conference: Yu.N. Semenov, first secretary of Kaliningrad CPSU Oblast Committee; Admiral V.P. Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet; and representatives of the Komsomol of Belorussia, Latvia, Estonia, and Kaliningrad Oblast.